

IN THESE TIMES

RAY
SWEARS IN
PAGE 3



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Aug. 30-Sept. 5, 1978

50 Cents

A NEW BABY BOOM

OVER 30'S WILL HAVE
BABIES IN THE 80'S.
PAGE 12.

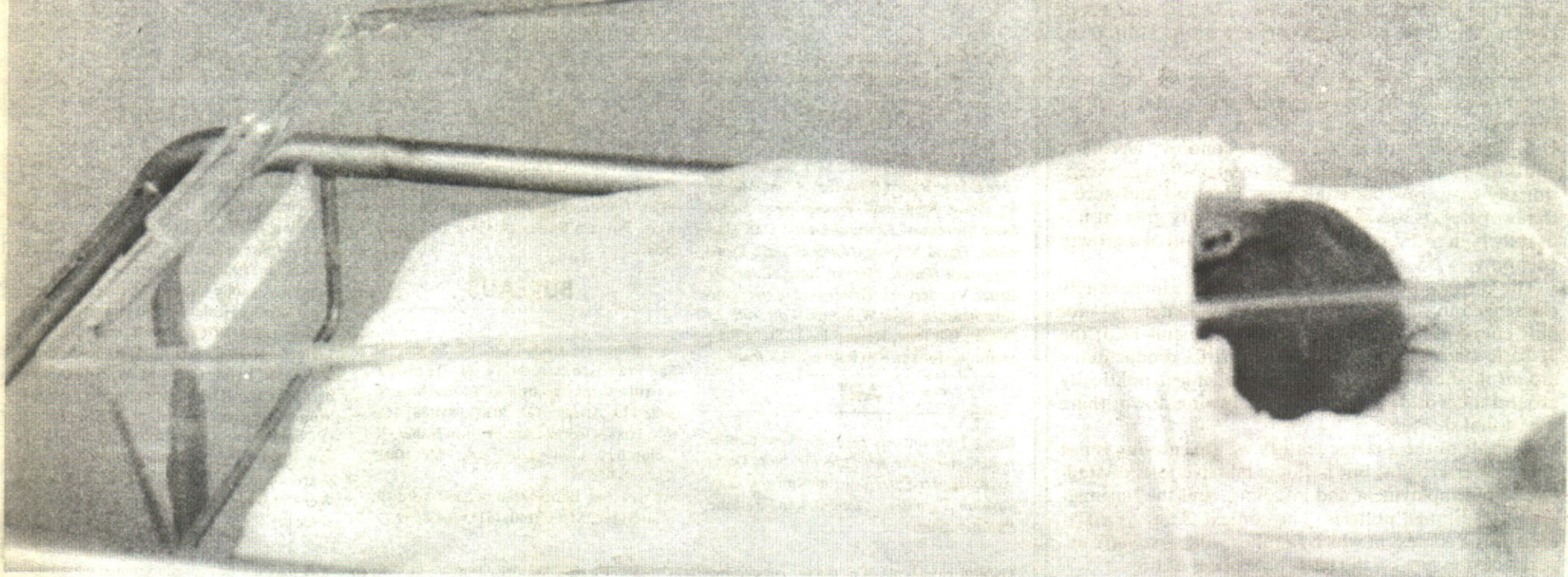


Photo by Richard Stromberg

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Gar Alperovitz at the Alternative Politics conference.

A political program for the last quarter

Gar Alperovitz is the co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives. Since the beginning of the year, he has been a prime mover in drawing up a plan for a community-owned steel plant in Youngstown, Ohio. (IN THESE TIMES, Aug. 9.) On July 15, at the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies in St. Paul, Minn., Alperovitz spelled out his ideas on rising prices, jobs, and the role of the left. An abridged version of his speech follows.

We're in the beginning of a transition. The third quarter of the 20th century is over. The post-war boom is over. The final quarter of the century is a different ball game.

The post-war boom—expansion while the American Dream was growing ever upward—was, in fact, an exception to the 20th century. It was a period when the U.S. was dominant in the world economy; Germany and Japan were defeated; access to markets was exceptionally easy; raw materials were plentiful and access to raw materials was plentiful; productivity grew at unusually high rates; pent-up demand permitted a growth economy.

The U.S. is no longer dominant. We are increasingly challenged in the world economy; raw materials—not only energy and oil, land, air and water and 17 of the 31 basic materials that make up industrial production—are all in short supply. We are challenged politically around the world; productivity is slowing down; there is a capital shortage.

The rule of the quarter century we are entering is not only slower growth, but periodic massive jolts of stagflation (unemployment and inflation), and the stalemating of traditional policies. The context is not of affluence: It is a context in which families will personally experience pressure on the basic necessities of life.

The context is set by the larger forces and the way in which we manage the economy in response to them.

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And the context can only be addressed by sensing some of the critical variables and beginning a progressive and equitable strategy related to them. Let me focus on two specific dominant issues.

Behind Proposition 13.

First inflation. By and large, to my knowledge, most leftists have abandoned this issue to conservatives, moderates and others. Yet it is the single, most important issue—not simply rhetorically, but to the life of an ordinary family.

I want to put an edge to that point. If you ask me the source of Proposition 13, there is more at stake than high taxes.

There's the price of housing—keeping the shelter overhead. I ask you to think of it as a family sees it: how do I keep the shelter over my head? The price of housing includes more than taxes. It includes fuel costs, utility costs, the basic costs either in rent or in the mortgage. The Federal Reserve Board in the first quarter of this year alone added a *point and a half*—fully a point and a half to inflation, directly—simply by raising the cost of money, raising interest rates, which are reflected in the monthly mortgage bill.

It therefore is not surprising to me that the most vulnerable, easiest target for a family under pressure in a situation of inflation is the sort of thing you find in Proposition 13—big government, taxes and the poor, obviously the most vulnerable people.

But the answers lie not with the poor, not with big budgets, and not with tightening up Federal Reserve Board policy, but with Exxon, the agribusiness establishment, the big banks and the developers, the health care establishment. You will not be able to avoid, if you have integrity, the structural issues: they will flow from the logic of the simple proposition that it is morally and politically important to talk about the necessities of life.

Now if you talk about the necessities of life, it is also absolutely critical to recognize that in no one of the necessities of life has the American labor movement been the source of the problem. It is so obvious to anyone who knows anything about energy pricing that the cause was *not labor*: it is a heavily capital-intensive industry, almost entirely devoid of labor. It is equally obvious if you look into the builder's studies into what's causing inflation in the housing industry. The *least* significant source has been labor costs over the last decade. Interest rates, fuel, [land values] taxes are the sources of the problem.

An alliance for the long haul.

In agriculture, it is both the way in which agriculture is organized and the way in which we manage our relationship to the larger context of the world market. I remind you that this is the only advanced industrial country in the world that allows the world to swamp its domestic agricultural and food pricing system. Because of the dominance of export industries in agriculture, we have allowed world market conditions, and the way they benefit certain groups, to swamp the needs of consumers and to generate inflation. A very small portion of this has to do with wages. Structural reform and policy reform, based on different criteria, are needed.

And, finally, in medical care, the slowest rising sources of prices has been labor and wage costs. Misorganization and the malorganization, excessive pricing, wastefulness of the industry, doctors' excessive incomes, are the main causes. Labor is *last* on the list.

The political reality derived from that simple set of facts is that for the first time the American labor movement is beginning to consider an aggressive, forthright and powerful attack on inflation. The mood is no longer defensive. Since the problem is not there, since it is being scapegoated in the way that the poor are being scapegoated, and the way the environmentalists are being scapegoated, it is now possible for high leadership

of the UAW, the AFL-CIO, the AFSCME, the Machinists and others to recognize that their issue is an issue they have in common with the American public at large, with the consumer movement and with the vast majority. That kind of alliance—and *only* that kind—based on the underlying realities, rather than only on tactical necessities, is an alliance for the long haul. It's an alliance for non-instant gratification politics.

Recession ahead.

One other major result of the difference between the 20th century's third quarter and the final quarter is periodic massive unemployment followed by momentary upswings. It is now predictable that a recession will be with us in the next 12 to 18 months; that an energy crisis will be struck in the early 80s, and a major steel crisis will be struck as well, as shortages occur in that industry in the early 80s.

What unemployment means in *this* period is massive dislocation in specific communities. It is the undermining of the electronics industry, the waste of the textile industry, the departure of a good part of the rubber industry, the destruction of whole towns by the failures in the steel industry. In Youngstown, 5,000 people on one day received notices. With a multiplier of two, another 10,000 shopkeepers and teachers and other people were immediately affected. With average family size three and a half, a total of 50,000 people were affected by one decision in one day by one company in New Orleans. It is pulling the plug on the local economy—in Youngstown it's a heart attack, in other parts of the country it's a slow cancer.

We must address that directly, and say what we need is not simply statistical full employment which seems so elusive anyway, but jobs here or what people at HUD are now talking about—jobs to the people—or legislation that I've been helping Howard Metzenbaum with—full employment in the communities.

Building the concept of full employment from the needs of everyday life in local communities sets a citizen constraint on economic policy and on economic management. And it begins with the possibility that the vast majority in the community who will experience their narrowing tax base and their taxes up, as the horrors of a Youngstown are visited, will begin to say: If we need to rebuild the rails of the nation, mass transit, solar, biomass conversion, if we are interested in a positive future for the country, there's plenty of work to do here, and what we want out of economic policy is that those jobs also be used to stabilize the health of American communities.

A decentralized vision.

In my opinion, as we begin to go down these brief two decades toward the end of the century, more and more Americans are going to sense the need to define that kind of an issue, that kind of majoritarian issue, as the basis on which they can build a politics which then permits the full flowering of the decentralist vision of local communities, organized, planned, participated in, in a thousand different ways, but made whole by an economic policy based on stabilizing the base of the community at large.

I offer to you the suggestion once again that small businessmen, ordinary taxpayers, citizens at large, trade unions, have much in common with such a policy. Often you will find that the multi-national corporation wants to move out to Hong Kong, to Mexico, to the Sun Belt, or elsewhere, will be your enemy; and that the need is to define very clearly the integrity of the vision, the priority of the lives of the vast majority. In Youngstown you can read what that means, punctuated month by month by suicides among steelworkers. But the priorities of the people locally are higher than those of the giant corporation; and if they cannot be met, those corporate priorities must go first. ■

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SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

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IN THE NATION



Diagram exhibited at Aug. 15 House hearings on Martin Luther King's murder.

ASSASSINATIONS

Ray looks guilty as alibis dissolve. But was he alone?

By Jefferson Cohen

WHEN THE HOUSE SELECT Committee on Assassinations presented its first week of nationally televised hearings, the American people saw—for the first time—what a prosecution of Ray would look like. It was not unconvincing. However, the committee was established for the primary purpose of determining whether a conspiracy had taken the life of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. On this question, the committee was mute. When the King hearings resume on Nov. 9, the issue of conspiracy will have to be faced.

There are several nagging, unresolved questions that seem to point toward conspiracy:

• **Finances.** Between the time of his April 1967 prison escape and the King assassination a year later, Ray spent almost \$10,000 in travels through the U.S., Canada and Mexico. Yet his only known source of income was his seven-week stint as at a \$94-a-week dishwashing job in Chicago. Where did the thousands of dollars come from?

In 1968, the FBI searched through every unsolved robbery and burglary that could possibly be linked to Ray. The authorities in Canada and Mexico did the same. Yet not one crime could be tied to Ray. An explanation offered by writer George McMillan, and Justice Department sources, is that Ray left prison with some \$6,000 earned from drug-dealing inside the prison. If this were true, it is hard to explain why Ray—who demonstrated no affinity for the “work ethic”—would take a low-paying job in a steaming restaurant kitchen.

• **Aliases.** Because he was an escaped

convict, Ray lived under a series of aliases as he traveled about North America and Europe. Four of Ray's aliases—Eric S. Galt, John Willard, Paul Bridgman, and Ramon Sneyd—correspond to real men, all residents of the Toronto suburb of Scarborough. Three of the men actually lived within walking distance of each other. Three of the four resemble Ray, especially as described verbally on I.D. cards. Eric S. Galt and Ray even have matching scars. How did Ray acquire these near-perfect aliases? Is there any connection to a murder plot?

• **Motive.** As a fugitive in his year of freedom, Ray had secured a lifestyle of leisure and material comfort like he had never known before. What could have motivated Ray to give this up in order to kill King? For every piece of evidence indicating a possible racial motive, there is counter-evidence. At his Chicago kitchen job, for example, Ray worked closely with 20 black co-workers without incident. Ray seemed much more interested in money than politics. Perhaps someone offered Ray a payoff.

A trial without a trial.

The committee shelved these conspiracy questions until November. It set out, as its first task, to prove Ray's guilt in the killing, or as one committee member put it in a closed-door session: “We're going to nail Ray to the cross.” In its attempts to publicly crucify Ray, the committee ran up against his defense attorney, Mark Lane. The proceeding had the trappings of a trial—attorney clashes, alibi witnesses—despite the repeated reminders of acting chairman Richardson Preyer (D-NC) that this was a congressional hearing. But Preyer himself, a former federal judge, confirmed the trial-like nature of the hear-

ing with several slips-of-the-tongue, like, “This court stands recessed.”

Through aggressive and numerous objections, Mark Lane certainly reacted—if not over-reacted—as if a trial were in session. After 15 years of writing and lecturing from a conspiracy viewpoint, Lane has acquired an increasingly paranoid style. He is prone to attack anyone who dares to criticize his theories as having been “duped” by the FBI/CIA, taken the FBI/CIA line, or of being on the payroll of the intelligence agencies. Recent “dupes” have included the ACLU, Frank Donner, *New Times* magazine, and the Assassination Information Bureau.

Lane's paranoid approach came out during Ray's two and a half days of testimony. When Ray was offered a committee exhibit consisting of an excerpt of a witness' interview, instead of the full interview, Lane began talking about “doctored documents.” At a later point in the proceeding, Lane accused committee chairman Louis Stokes (D-OH) of a “deliberate effort to deceive the American people by distorting the evidence.” When a committee member mentioned that one of Ray's alibi witnesses had recently died in Memphis, Lane murmured, “Strange things going on in Memphis.”

Lane's overreaction, his querulous and rambunctious posture, his repeated use of the word “outrageous” to describe the committee's moves, had the unfortunate effect of deadening one's interest in Lane's objections—including several that were valid. (Lane's charge that Stokes had used “deliberate deception,” for example, was prompted by the chairman's innuendo that Ray submitted a Los Angeles-to-Atlanta change-of-address card after reading a Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* article about King. In fact, as Lane pointed out, the article was published the day after the change-of-address card was submitted.)

Due to the confrontations between Lane and the committee, progress was slow. The numerous interruptions made it difficult for millions of television viewers to really scrutinize James Earl Ray, his story, and his alibi. Once, when Lane and Stokes were haggling out a legal point, Ray squeezed in, “If you let me explain, I think we could avoid eight months of arguing.”

Committee scrutinizes Ray's alibi.

Perhaps the committee's main accomplishment was in poking additional holes in James Earl Ray's already frayed story. Ray began his testimony by reading a 38-page opening statement that rehashed the “Raoul” story: Ray was manipulated by a French-Canadian smuggler who kept Ray supplied with thousands of dollars in payment for smuggling runs and other errands; Ray brought a rifle to Memphis for what “Raoul” had described as a gun-running scheme; “Raoul” or someone else shot King while Ray was blocks away at a gas station. The committee attacked Ray's testimony on the following points: *Did Ray stalk King?*

The committee tried to show that Ray stalked King for two weeks from L.A. to Selma to Atlanta to Memphis. This theory was largely based on circumstantial evidence that Ray tracked King by following his trail in newspapers. The committee produced the change-of-address card that Ray filed upon leaving L.A., which diverted his mail to Atlanta, King's hometown. Ray had previously claimed that he left L.A. for New Orleans on “Raoul's” orders, with no intention of moving to Atlanta.

The committee suggested, but could not document, that Ray tracked King to Selma, Ala., on March 22. Ray claimed that he ended up in Selma because he “got lost” and took a wrong turn.

The committee produced an Atlanta laundry receipt, a counter book, and the aging laundry clerk who had been in charge of the counter book, to show that Ray had returned to Atlanta on April 1, the day after purchasing a hunting rifle in Birmingham. Ray adamantly main-

Unanswered questions point to a conspiracy as House Committee “nails Ray to the cross.”

tained that he took a slow, four-day drive—following “Raoul's” orders to deliver the rifle—from Birmingham directly to Memphis, without a stop in Atlanta. King was at his Atlanta office on April 1, the day “Eric Galt” dropped off his laundry. And Atlanta papers announced King's upcoming trip to Memphis on April 1.

Who was Raoul?

Through his interrogation of Ray, chairman Stokes raised questions about the existence of “Raoul.” Why can't Ray provide a better description or full name for “Raoul”? Why can't Ray provide the name or descriptions of witnesses who saw Ray in the presence of a second man? If “Raoul” took the rifle from Ray on April 3 in Memphis, why are Ray's fingerprints on the rifle, but not “Raoul's”? Ray's response is that some of these answers could very well be found in the FBI's files—many that have been denied Ray.

And if “Raoul” framed and then abandoned Ray as a fall-guy, why does he decline offers of commutation in order to protect the man who betrayed him?

Did Ray confess?

While some of the evidence of Ray's stalking King was purely circumstantial, nothing was more shakey than the committee's presentation of an alleged jail-house confession. When Lane called this move “an outrage,” it was one time he could not be accused of exaggeration. Ray immediately called the statement “false.” The source of the allegation was Alexander Anthony Eist, a detective chief inspector at Scotland Yard, who was Ray's personal guard for ten days following his London arrest. According to Eist, Ray was a proud racist who took credit for the assassination, and planned on gaining fame and fortune as a result of his act.

The Eist statement was read into the record by Congressman Sam Devine (R-OH), an ex-FBI agent, who admitted after reading it that Eist's reliability had not been checked. Even a cursory investigation would have revealed that Eist resigned from Scotland Yard after facing charges of corruption and obstruction of justice. The committee was apparently not troubled by the fact that Eist had waited ten years before making the confession public. Eist's statement seems especially remarkable, since in all of Ray's interviews and discussions in the ten years of his imprisonment, he has consistently denied his guilt and has professed no strong racial beliefs.

Does Ray have an alibi?

Ray has contended that he was blocks from the murder scene at a gas station when King was killed. Mark Lane supplied information about Ray's alibi witnesses to the committee, and he featured an interview with one, Dean Cowden, in the paperback edition of his book on the King assassination, Lane quoted Cowden as saying that he saw Ray at the Memphis gas station just minutes before the killing.

In testimony before the committee, Cowden admitted that he had perpetrated a hoax on both Lane and the *National Enquirer*. On the day of the assassination, he had been at home in Port Natchez Texas, hundreds of miles from Memphis. The committee seemed to take great pleasure in Lane's having been victimized by

Continued on page 18.

ASSASSINATIONS

Former agent links Oswald to CIA

By Herb Borock & John Markoff

BASED ON WHAT I HEARD AT Tokyo Station, I became convinced that the following scenario is true: CIA people killed Kennedy. Either it was an outright project of headquarters with the approval of McCone or it was done outside, perhaps under the direction of Dulles and Bissell. It was done in retaliation to Kennedy's reneging on a secret agreement with Dulles to support the invasion of Cuba."

The man who made this statement to the House Select Committee on Assassinations lives quietly in a California suburb today. He is a technician for a small electronics company and spends most of his time raising and caring for his family.

But on the day President Kennedy was shot, Jim Wilcott led a very different life. He was a financial officer in a "Class A" CIA station in Tokyo, Japan. Wilcott was the man who made the disbursements for CIA covert operations in Japan.

Recently he told congressional investigators that Lee Harvey Oswald was a CIA agent controlled by the Tokyo Station's Soviet Russia Branch: "At one point, soon after Ruby shot Oswald, I was talking to someone, I can't remember who for sure, and I expressed disbelief about Oswald even being a CIA project. I was told something like: 'Well, Jim, so and so drew an advance sometime in the past from you for Oswald' or 'for that project under such and such a crypto.'"

Wilcott is the first CIA agent to surface who was present, inside the agency, and in day-to-day contact with the case officers who operated in the shadowy world that linked Oswald to the Kennedy assassination. Wilcott is one of more than 1,400 people who have been interviewed by staff investigators for the House Assassinations Committee that was established in September 1976 to investigate the murders of Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. The committee has been holding public hearings this month in Washington.

Wilcott contacted the committee to tell them about "the Kennedy assassination as I knew it at the completion of my second tour at Tokyo Station as of June 1964." Committee staff investigator Harold Leap came to California in January to record Wilcott's statement on tape. The committee then decided to interview Wilcott in Washington.

Wilcott's career inside the agency spanned nine years between 1957 and 1966, when he worked in Japan, Miami and Washington, D.C., occasionally involving himself in field operations as well as working as a financial officer.

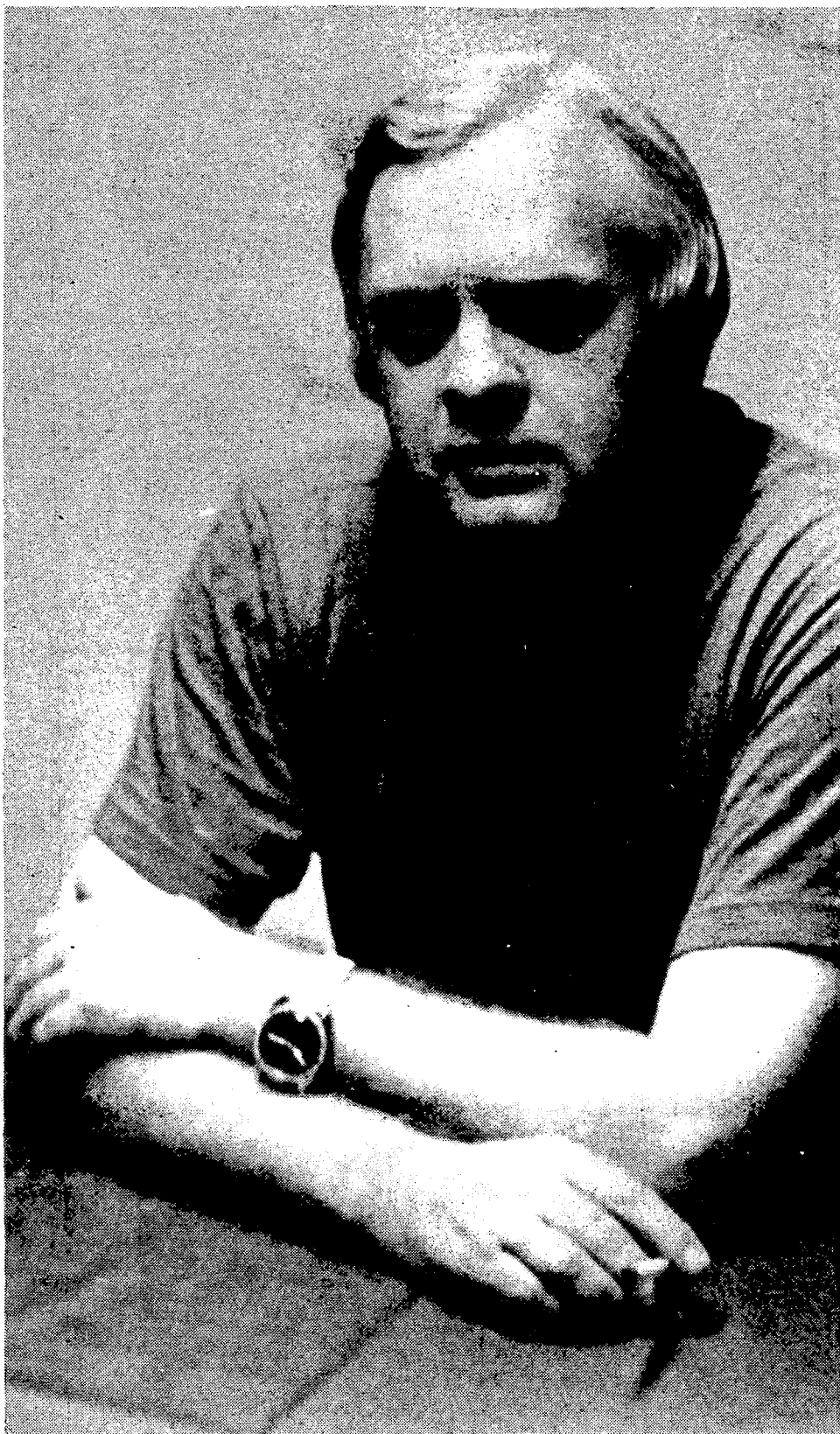
Oswald's role as double agent.

Wilcott claims it was because he was involved in the operational side of the CIA that he first learned that Oswald was an agent. To earn extra money while in Tokyo, Wilcott often worked as a duty officer in the station. While working, shortly after Kennedy was killed, he first heard discussions of CIA involvement in the assassination. He told the committee:

"The following day, Nov. 24, Sunday, I had day duty. Much talk was still going on although meetings had gone on among the branches all night. Much was said at these meetings about observing the 'need-to-know' principle. The mood had changed from the elation of the previous day to a more serious one. That was when I first heard about CIA somehow being involved. Not long before going off duty, talk about Oswald's connection with the CIA was making the rounds."

More than once, Wilcott was told about CIA employees who were "working on the Oswald project" in the late 1950s, he told the committee.

According to Wilcott, Oswald had been trained by the CIA at Atsugi Naval Air Station, the CIA's secret base for Tokyo Station's special operations. The



Jim Wilcott, stationed in Japan, knew of Oswald as a double agent for the CIA.

"The original assassination project may have been to kill Kennedy and blame it on Oswald, who would be solidly linked to Castro as a pretext for another invasion of Cuba."

station's SR [Soviet Russia] Branch had responsibility for Atsugi where Oswald was stationed with a Marine Corps unit from 1956 to 1958.

"Oswald was recruited from the military for the express purpose of becoming a double agent on assignment to the USSR, Wilcott testified. "When Oswald returned from the USSR in June of 1962, either on his way back or after he got back, he was brought back to Japan, either to Atsugi or Yokosuka for debriefing."

In 1963 Oswald established a Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans to support the Castro regime. It seemed likely to Wilcott "that the original assassination project may have been to kill Kennedy and blame it on Oswald, who would be solidly linked to Castro as a pretext for another invasion."

Bay of Pigs, a bone of contention.

The failure of the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961 was

a major point of contention between the Kennedy administration and the CIA. The invasion plan was developed by the CIA's Deputy Director Richard Bissell, and had the full backing of CIA Director Allen Dulles. Kennedy fired both men after the invasion.

Supporters of Bissell and Dulles contended that Kennedy reneged on an agreement he had reached with them shortly after his election to provide U.S. military support for the invasion. Kennedy supporters said that Dulles and Bissell misled Kennedy by giving him false reports about anti-Castro sentiment in Cuba and by changing the invasion plans "to include the creation of an incident that would call for an all-out attack by the U.S. military," Wilcott told the committee.

The dispute between Kennedy and Bissell and Dulles was reflected within the CIA itself according to Wilcott. There was a group of "Kennedy liberals" who were mostly low-ranking employees, and

a dominant and strongly anti-communist group.

Wilcott remembers CIA conservatives accusing Kennedy of "treason" and calling him a "dupe of the USSR" after he negotiated the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in September 1963. The conservatives were also upset about Kennedy's support of integration, his positions against the oil depletion allowance, and his plans for withdrawing troops from Vietnam, Wilcott recalled. "More frequent and more bitter, however was the charge that Kennedy had reneged on his secret agreement with Dulles to support the Bay of Pigs invasion," Wilcott stated before the committee.

When Wilcott heard that Kennedy had been killed he went to the Tokyo CIA Station: "It was a scene of great excitement, confusion and wild talk. The conservatives were obviously elated and there was talk of an invasion of Cuba. From the very first day, everyone talked in terms of an operation, particularly the operational people, or in popular terms—a conspiracy," Wilcott testified.

The following day Wilcott first heard talk about CIA involvement with the assassination and of Oswald's connection to the CIA. "While this kind of talk was a jolt to me, I didn't really take it seriously then," Wilcott testified. But by the time Wilcott left Tokyo seven months later he was convinced that "Ruby was paid by CIA to do away with Oswald, and Oswald was a patsy."

KGB on to Oswald.

Wilcott believes that Oswald was set up because the CIA was concerned that they could not control Oswald's actions in the future. When Oswald returned from the Soviet Union in 1962 he was debriefed by the CIA in Japan, Wilcott told us, because "they were having some kind of difficulty with Oswald. He knew that the KGB was on to him as soon as he stepped on Soviet soil. It was a stupid project from the start. There were too many compromising facets to his background that would have made him a good deep cover double agent and that therefore the Soviets were on to him right from the start. This made him very angry and this was why they had trouble."

Wilcott said, "Oswald may have been set up as a patsy because they were having this trouble. He may have threatened to blow the whole thing about the double agent role in the Soviet Union. So they did get two birds with one stone. They set him up as Kennedy's assassin and got rid of him at the same time."

According to Wilcott, the CIA had connections with the Dallas police and certain individuals and corporations in Dallas at the time Kennedy was killed in that city. He told the committee:

"There was no doubt that CIA was in 'as thick as thieves' with the Dallas Police. Several different individuals or firms in Dallas had been involved in one way or another with acting as cut-outs for arms shipments to Cuban exiles for the invasion. He also remembered "hearing about some CIA people who had somehow helped the right-wing Minutemen in Texas to get arms, originally intended for the invasion."

When Wilcott was transferred from Tokyo to Washington in 1964 he found out about other non-foreign operations. He learned that the CIA believed it had the duty "to exceed the limitations of the CIA charter, or even the Congress and the President," he told the assassinations committee. In our recent interview with him Wilcott stated, "I used to hear this talk about, well, if a communist was elected president, the CIA was prepared to deal with that."

Herb Borock is a researcher for the Pacific Studies Center in Mountain View, Calif. John Markoff is an Associate Editor of Pacific News Service.

LABOR

Grocery clerks break the chains

By Larry Remer

AS INFLATION PUSHED PAST the double-digit mark last week, more than 70,000 Southern California food market clerks struck 15 supermarket chains demanding a contract that would keep them in step with rising prices.

The walkout, which affects 1,100 markets between the Mexican border and San Luis Obispo, came after members of nine Retail Clerks Union locals voted by a nine-to-one margin to reject a management offer that would have provided less than a 7 percent annual pay hike over three years.

Before the strike was a day old, four of the smaller supermarket chains signed an agreement with the Clerks, breaking ranks with the Food Employers Council (FEC) which had been bargaining for the industry. But at week's end, both union leaders and operators of 11 major market chains—including Safeway, Vons, and Alpha Beta—were girding for a long strike.

The last Southern California Retail Clerks strike was in 1969. It lasted 19 days.

Union leaders say that the length of the strike will depend on management's willingness to bargain in good faith.

"Right now, there's a gap as big as the Pacific Ocean," declared Chris Platten, secretary-treasurer of San Diego Local 1222.

"Our members have bills to pay and mortgages to meet," continued Platten. "We have to keep pace with inflation. Safeway seems to have no trouble doing that. Just look at their recent financial statement. Profits in the first half of 1978 were up 25 percent from \$53.1 million to \$66.5 million."

Challenge to Carter.

The walkout proffers a stiff challenge to Carter administration efforts to curb inflation by keeping union wage settlements under 7 percent. In the closing days of bargaining before the strike, management representatives repeatedly raised Carter's "hold-the-line" stance on wages in an effort to get the Clerks to accept management's offer.

Union leaders, however, repeatedly declared that worker wages, by following Carter's guidelines, would lag behind rises in the cost of living. When Ken Edwards, president of the 17,000-member Los Angeles Clerks Local, and other union leaders told membership meetings that they wanted to wait until a better contract offer was forthcoming, they were roundly cheered.

The Clerks' stance mirrors the position of AFL-CIO president George Meany, who has harshly criticized Carter wage proposals for postal workers and other labor unions. Meany, along with the rest of the AFL-CIO national leadership, is standing firmly behind the Clerks.

The strike has also captured the attention of the Carter administration. Wayne Horvitz, director of the Federal Mediation Service, appealed repeatedly to both sides to return to the bargaining table. And, after two days, Federal mediators asked for assistance from the National Joint Labor-Management Committee to solve the impasse.

In an effort to break the strike, market owners hired 20,000 scabs to work with management personnel in an effort to keep stores open. But by mid-week, most of the affected chains had announced cut-backs in hours, long lines at check-out counters, and shortages on the shelves.

The Clerks have received strong support from the Teamsters, whose drivers are honoring picket lines and are refusing to deliver food to struck markets. This sup-

port reciprocates for Retail Clerk support of a month-old Teamster strike in Northern California against supermarket chains there.

Striking retail clerks closed many of the supermarket chains in Southern California. With sales off as much as 50 percent the stores gave in to workers' demands.

Clerks Union leaders have repeatedly reiterated their determination to win parity in pay with Northern California food handlers, where wages average \$1.05 an hour higher.

The pressure to win this demand stems from the last Southern California food contract, which was negotiated in 1972 during the wage-price freeze. The Clerks have complained bitterly that they were caught unfairly in the freeze because of the timing of their contract, noting that food prices in Northern California—where the wages are higher—are not greater than in the Southland.

Moreover, the Clerks have also been seeking improved pension and health benefits and elimination of management plans to increase the number of part-time employees.

Presently, a journeyman food clerk makes \$6.92 an hour. Less than 20 percent of the clerk workforce is employed at that rate. At the bottom of the scale, more than 25 percent work as clerk helpers and get \$3.47. The average hourly rate of pay for food clerks is \$4.32.

At mid-week, management announced its intention to bypass the union and go directly to its employees with details of its last contract offer. Given the overwhelming support for a strike that the rank-



Retail clerks went on strike last week in Southern California. The strike affected 11 major market chains, including Safeway, Vons, and Alpha Beta. The chains agreed to a tentative settlement on Aug. 25.

and-file has shown, it's unlikely that there will be a settlement until the Food Employers Council sweetens the pot.

And sweeten the pot they did. On Aug. 25 the store owners agreed to most of the clerk's financial demands. The Retail

Clerks union agreed to a tentative settlement that will be put to a vote by the membership next week.

Larry Remer is a journalist in Southern California.

Incumbent re-elected, union split

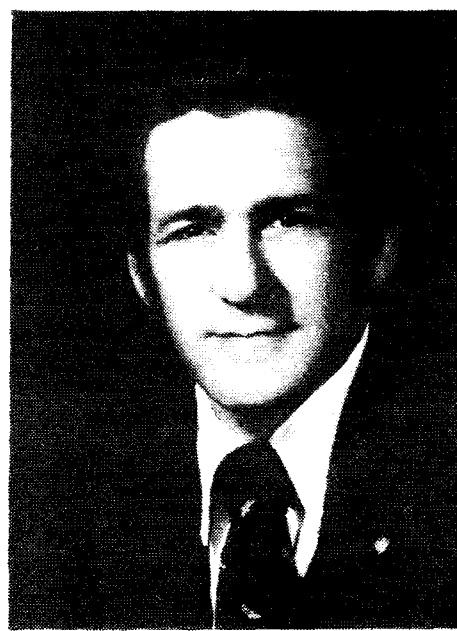
By Tom Young

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION of Government Employees (AFGE), meeting in Chicago Aug. 7-11, narrowly re-elected its incumbent president while repudiating his position on civil service reform and firing his general counsel, a key aid.

The resulting standoff appears to leave the union, largest in the federal sector, with a weakened leadership and no clear strategy for the upcoming congressional debate over civil service.

AFGE President Kenneth Blaylock was involved in lengthy negotiations with the White House over the upcoming civil service bill, and had endorsed the final product. Many convention delegates, including some Blaylock supporters, complained that the plan would strip federal workers of past protections and allow increased political interference with their work. Delegates booed loudly at mention of Carter's name. In 1976 Carter was the first Presidential candidate ever endorsed by AFGE.

In the federal sector AFGE, the largest government union, competes with several independent unions, two with approximately 100,000 members each. The other federal unions have denounced AFGE's endorsement of civil service reform. AF-



Kenneth Blaylock won narrowly.

Delegates to the AFGE loudly booed Carter's name, even though he was the first candidate the union ever endorsed.

GE's local leadership has been hard pressed to explain this position to its membership, particularly since local leadership disliked this policy themselves.

The National Treasury Employees union (NTEU) made a name for itself among federal workers several years ago when it won a lawsuit gaining back pay for many of them. Now claiming 50,000 members, NTEU has launched an aggressive raiding campaign against AFGE outside its traditional Treasury-IRS jurisdiction. The Treasury Union has won an election at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and is expected to beat AFGE at the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation.

One might expect that unions would find federal workers increasingly receptive to their message. Pay standards are being cut and traditional protections may be cut away. The pressure to rationalize the public sector is being felt on the federal level, leading to declining working conditions.

Blaylock does not appear ready to rise to the occasion. The re-elected leadership has shown little imagination and have actually lost 25,000 members over the last two years. Their program emphasizes working responsibility with Congress and the Executive, which makes appealing to the employees of these government bodies difficult.

COMMUNICATIONS

New communications act draws fire

By Ron Williams

CHICAGO

STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE proposed "Communications Act of 1978" surfaced at a day-long public hearing at Chicago's Dirksen Federal Building Aug. 22. The session, chaired by Rep. Martin Russo, Illinois member of the 15-person House Communications Subcommittee, saw the bill draw fire from a broad range of community groups representing women, consumer, ethnic, minority, religious and media reform interests.

The controversial 217-page bill, HR 13015, authored by Subcommittee chair Lionel Van Deerlin (D-CA) and senior Republican Louis Frey Jr. of Florida, is intended to overhaul the Communications Act of 1934.

The Communications Act of 1978 would revise all facets of the billion-dollar telecommunications industry: television (cable, UHF, VHF), radio and common carrier (telephone and related services). If the bill became law in its present form, sweeping changes would result in every sector.

Central to the legislation is the intention of only permitting federal regulation "to the extent marketing forces are deficient." In Van Deerlin's words, "Where possible, we're going to be trying to get the federal government out of the business of regulation."

To this end, the act rejects the principle of public ownership of the airwaves and eliminates existing standards that require the license holder to operate in the "public interest, convenience and necessity." In virtually every area that the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) now regulates, the new communications commission would be prohibited from intervening.

In place of the current three-year renewal procedure for broadcast licenses, stations would be granted licenses "indefinitely," which would be revoked only if the holder violated the law.

Industry applauds deregulation.

This legislative move towards deregulation was welcomed by a number of those who testified. The words of William Hanson, general manager of radio station WJOL AM, Joliet, Ill., were typical: "As a radio broadcaster, I am generally pleased with the deregulation philosophy of HR 13015. It would go a long way toward getting the federal government out of the radio business and would benefit not only the industry, but also the public that we serve."

"The longer license term, the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine and Equal Time provisions, and the other good provisions of the bill will allow me to spend more time on programming, more time on serving my community and less time filling out federal paperwork," he stated.

Stewart Hoover, executive producer of the Church of the Brethren's Broadcast Ministries opposed deregulation and argued that "marketplace forces" cannot be relied on to serve any interests save those of the industry.

"The bill's reliance on the marketplace to insure public service seems to be based on the old idea of the law of supply and demand. That might be all right if the public were the 'consumers' of broadcasting, but we're not. The public is the product broadcasting produces. Advertisers are the customers, and they already benefit from the extremely efficient service from broadcasting. The problem is that the needs and interests of the public—which is the product—get lost in the shuffle."

While most corporate broadcasting interests such as RCA and ABC appear to be cautious in their praise of the new act, the National Radio Broadcasters Association (NRBA), a splinter group of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), has enthusiastically endorsed the



Rep. Martin Russo, Illinois member of the House Communications Subcommittee, chaired the Chicago hearing on the Communications Act of 1978. Over 60 people spoke during the one-day session.

Corporate ownership would replace public airwaves, but opposition may force the bill to be rewritten.

legislation.

At the hearing a NRBA spokesperson "heartily endorsed the philosophy underlying the proposed rewrite," but echoed commercial broadcaster's misgivings concerning the proposed "spectrum fee." Commercial operations would pay spectrum fees, based on audience size and frequency use, that would be used to underwrite the costs of the new Communications Regulatory Commission, promote minority ownership of stations and provide public broadcasting programming grants.

The NRBA called the fee-schedule "a very dangerous concept" and stated "we do not feel a concept that is potentially so coercive should be embodied in the statute." In the inevitable lobbying and trade-offs expected during House and

Senate action, the spectrum fees are likely to be the target of the broadcast industry's formidable lobbying clout.

Whittling away affirmative action.

Gordon Quinn, an independent producer associated with Kartemquin Films in Chicago, called the funding to be generated by the spectrum fee "a red herring." He viewed the real issue as one of public ownership of the airwaves and accountability of the licensee to public service programming. With that principle abrogated, Quinn felt it would be "a matter of time and corporate lobbying before the funding would be 'whittled away'."

The Chicago hearing was criticized for lack of advanced publicity, lack of public education on the legislation, and allowing only one day of testimony. Ap-

proximately 60 people testified, although over three times that many requested to speak.

The sharpest attacks centered on the bill's projected impact on affirmative action hiring and the communications job market. Nancy Kreiter, research director of Women Employed (WE), a Chicago area organization of working women, declared, "WE is appalled that the Van Deerlin-Frey bill virtually would eliminate the key component for insuring equal employment opportunity in the broadcasting industry."

The FCC has established affirmative action targets in the past. Although many groups feel these guidelines are painfully inadequate, the 1978 act would forbid the new regulatory commission from requiring Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) schedules.

According to Kreiter, "By striking the current requirements for licensees to submit EEO programs, the Act removes enforcement power from the commission and abolishes both the incentive and necessary obligation for broadcasters to

Continued on page 18.

THE ECONOMY

Prices, not wages, key to inflation

Inflation in the things that matter most to families was dramatically worse in the second quarter of 1978 than government statistics indicate.

A "basic necessities" index prepared by the National Center for Economic Alternatives shows that prices of food, shelter, medical care, and energy rose at a rate of 15 percent—more than one-third faster than the government's overall Consumer Price Index (CPI)—for the period March to June 1978.

Food, shelter, medical care and energy constitute nearly 70 percent of the expenditures for 80 percent of U.S. households.

"Basic necessity inflation is undermining family budgets at an incredible rate," warned Gar Alperovitz, co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives. "Household energy and food purchases are expenditures that can least be postponed, with mortgage and rent payments and doctor bills close behind."

The rate of basic necessity inflation for the first half of 1978 was 13.2 percent.

While inflation in medical care costs slowed from 8.7 percent to 7.5 percent on an annual basis, this was more than offset by increases elsewhere. Energy inflation more than doubled, from a 5.4 percent to a 12.3 percent. Food prices accelerated to 20.9 percent in the second quarter from 15.7 percent in the first, and housing costs rose from an annual rate of 11.4 percent in the first quarter to 12.8 percent in the second.

The report was skeptical about claims that wage demands were the primary cause of inflation. In the first quarter, for example, Federal Reserve policy and a sharp rise in mortgage interest costs contributed most to the overall inflation rate; in the second quarter, increases in food prices were the primary cause. As a result, the average worker still is not keeping up with the cost of living. Weekly earnings—after adjusting for inflation and increased taxes—fell by almost 3 percent in the first six months of the year.

While nominal wages rose 7.9 percent

during the first six months of the year, these increases were the result of efforts to catch up with previous non-wage related price increases, especially the high food and energy price increases that hit family budgets from 1972 to 1975.

"Inflation will not be altered by cutting the budget, scapegoating workers, or blaming environmental regulations," Alperovitz said. "Rising wages cannot account for the rising prices of houses built five years ago, nor of natural gas, nor of interest rates. And food price rises are primarily the result of poor weather and the beef cycle, not workers' wages."

Alperovitz pointed out that prices of other goods and services rose at a relatively low 5.2 percent annual rate during the first six months of 1978.

Alperovitz said that while food prices or energy costs "might" abate in the future, "the national wishing game on inflation must end at some point." He urged sharply focused direct attacks on the underlying issues, sector by sector.



Four residents of Carver Park stand outside the Central Ave. unit of the Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority.

By Robert H. Holden

CLEVELAND

IN THOSE RESERVATIONS FOR THE black poor known as "inner cities," the police have never felt at ease. Overwhelmingly white, invariably living in all-white suburbs and trained in the ruling values, the police feel even more uncomfortable when entering such alien territory as public housing projects. People's lives are at stake every time two white cops climb out of their air-conditioned, carbine-equipped cruiser to serve a warrant or investigate a crime.

And the police know it. For one week in July, the Cleveland Police Department defied the mayor's order to start patrolling public housing projects on foot. Their refusal forced the mayor to fire 13 patrolmen, an act that touched off a 19-hour police strike. Despite the vow of the president of the patrolmen's union that his members would never walk a beat in a project, the police backed down after two court orders were issued. Cleveland police backed down after two court orders were issued. Cleveland police were walking beats in the housing projects for the first time in the city's history.

William J. McNea, the president of the Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association, made it clear from the start why his members would not walk in the projects, called "estates" by the Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority. Not only is the crime rate too high, McNea explained, but the "incidence against policemen" made it far too dangerous for them to walk, even in pairs. *The Call & Post*, the city's black weekly newspaper, quoted a former black patrolman who pointed out that "some white officers are scared as hell to go onto the estates because of fear of reprisals for acts of violence against blacks.... Enough people know that black heads are getting beat in station houses for no valid reason, and the guys that have to walk the beats know that they are the ones that are going to pay the piper."

Public housing tenants, accustomed to police neglect and brutality, were enraged by the patrolmen's attitude, but there was a touch of amusement in their voices. They seemed to savor the spectacle of 1,800 armed patrolmen, trained at public expense and driving cruisers with the slogan "Our Men Serve All Men," refusing to work in certain residential areas because they were *too dangerous*. "To think that trained, armed men are cautious about walking where I walk day and night gives one food for thought," said Diane Turnauckas, co-chairperson of the housing authority's Central Advisory Council.

Annie Howard, a 56-year-old tenant who hobbles around her high-rise project apartment with a cane, was more direct. "They're damned fools. The people need their protection. They're cowards."

CITIES

Cops play chicken with Cleveland's mayor and blacks

Police refuse to patrol Cleveland projects on foot because they are "too dangerous."

Her voice rising in anger, Howard concluded: "They got a yellow streak down their backs, the chickenshit bastards!" She and other tenants offered to accompany the police on their rounds if it would make them feel more secure, but the patrolmen declined.

Patrolmen fired, police strike.

The administration of Mayor Dennis J. Kucinich, the 31-year-old independent whose politics seem to be genuinely progressive and anti-establishment, ordered the police to walk beats in 14 of the city's 29 housing projects. It was the first time that police had ever been told to patrol the projects on foot, despite the fact that it is clearly impossible to police them adequately from a patrol car. Few if any streets bisect the projects, where many of the housing units are clustered.

On Friday, July 7, the day before the foot patrols were to begin, police protests forced Kucinich to back down from his original order of one patrolman per shift in each project. He allowed them to work in pairs at night; the lone patrolman on the day shift could ride a scooter. On Saturday, McNea swore his members would never patrol a housing project except from the safety of a cruiser. The projects, he said, were "jungles." That day and the next, 28 patrolmen refused assignments to walk in the projects, and were told they would be suspended. But the mayor relented and promised them a second chance. On Tuesday, 13 refused to walk the projects and were suspended. The next day, the 13 were again asked to work; they refused and were fired. That touched off a unanimous strike vote by the patrolmen's association, the bargaining agent for the city's 1,800 patrolmen. A few hours before the strike, which began at 11 p.m. Thursday, Kucinich had

compromised again, agreeing to let them patrol in pairs during the day as well as at night.

Early Friday morning, with the strike only a few hours old, the mayor toured three of the city's six police district headquarters, where he was greeted by crowds of drunken, cursing policemen, swilling beer drawn from ice chests on the picket lines. Firecrackers were tossed at him and a full can of beer narrowly missed the car. He tried to read a judge's back-to-work order but was drowned out by the strikers, who dashed to their cars to sound horns and sirens. Racist insults were hurled at Kucinich's black safety director, James W. Barrett, a former patrolman and detective who as a youth lived in the projects for 11 years.

The city's leaders braced for a wave of looting and violence that never came. Friday morning's *Plain Dealer* carried a story from Atlanta quoting Newark mayor Kenneth Gibson's speech to the National Association of Counties convention. The best way for cities to save money, Gibson declared, would be to fire cops; the crime rate wouldn't change a bit.

Kucinich asked Gov. James A. Rhodes to send in the National Guard. Rhodes, who sent the Guard to Kent State in 1970, refused. A second judge's order, staying the firings and sending them to arbitration, ended the strike at 6 p.m. Friday.

Is anyone dead yet?

By then, the news media and the politicians had practically lost sight of the main issue—the lack of police protection for the 28,000 people who live in the projects. The residents can choose one of two sources of help in an emergency—a police department that rarely responds promptly unless someone is dead or injured, and a housing authority security force whose maximum number on any

given night is ten patrolmen. At a series of hearings and public meetings this year, residents begged the authorities to protect them from a wave of burglaries, robberies, rapes and vandalism.

"On Friday or Saturday night, if you see a man beating up a woman or a peeping tom, you can call the CMHA and they'll tell you they have just one car for the East Side and one for the West Side," Turnauckas said. "There have been times when there was just one car for both the East and West sides." If the police department is called instead, the dispatcher invariably asks, "Is anybody dead yet? Is anybody hurt?" If the answers are no, the police are unlikely to show up.

Even when they respond, patrolmen sometimes sit in their cars and just watch the action, then drive off. Adeline Turner broke two fingers separating her son from two older youths who were beating him as policemen watched idly from two parked cars. Another time, she watched two policemen in a parking lot beat up a youth suspected of carrying marijuana; he had to be carried to a hospital. "They think," said Turner, "that the only good nigger is a dead nigger, that the projects are jungles."

City officials and the news media pretended that race had nothing to do with the dispute, despite the fact that 74 percent of the projects' 11,123 families are black, while only 12 percent of the police force is black. Ten years have passed since the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Commission) called for full integration of the police forces, noting that to many blacks, "police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes." Barrett has undertaken an intense minority hiring program to bring the proportion of black police into line with that of blacks in the city's population, estimated at 42 percent.

Police attitudes, Turnauckas said, seem to have improved somewhat since the early 1970s. "The police came very late if they came at all and automatically from their mouths came the words prostitute and bastard. That's what we were to the police." After residents met with some police supervisors, some change occurred. "But it's an uphill battle. Because every time the police chief or captain of a district changes, you have to go back in and remind them that we're human beings." Police attitudes, she noted, are not the only ones in need of revision. After she arranged for a woman newspaper reporter to stay overnight in one of the projects, the reporter's boss cancelled the plan—it was too dangerous, he said.

Many residents see the need to convert the projects from reservations of neglect to communities providing decent services for their inhabitants, including jobs and recreation facilities for unemployed youths, whom they blame for most of the crime.

"I'm against project-type living—it singles us out as poor people, just piling us one on top of another," said Marie Childress, who has lived in public housing since 1965. "In some estates we still have no place for the kids to dance, no basketball court, or even a grassy field for them to play on." She lives in the Riverview project on the near West Side, where even the swings are missing from their rusted frames, and the basketball court is too rutted to play on.

In view of the deepseated contradictions in the nation's public housing policies, police foot patrols seem like an insignificant step. Even so, some residents wonder how long they will last. "They're doing it today," Turnauckas remarked, "but what about tomorrow? What about next week? I'd like to be optimistic but I don't know how long this will go on." Sometimes, she admits, "I think somebody decided to have a war on poverty, and kill us off as fast as possible by moving us into the projects." Her doubts were echoed by Marsha Wiggs, a former project tenant who is now an organizer for the Cleveland Tenant Organization. "The Housing Authority promised them many things. But nobody believes them because they break their promises all the time."

Robert Holden is a journalist in Cleveland.



The Four Corners power plant in Fruitland, N.M., is owned by the Arizona Public Service Co. It is located on the Navajo Reservation.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Navajos levy taxes on energy giants

By Peter Melnick

WHILE CEREMONIAL peacepipes burned in the capital during the Longest Walk activities in June, the Navajo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico unceremoniously scalped the heads of major energy conglomerates like Kerr-McGee and Peabody Coal, who operate mines and power companies on reservation property and pay the tribe pittance for the privilege.

Federal district court justice William P. Copple has upheld the right of the Navajo tribal government to impose taxes on non-Indians. Copple ruled on a lawsuit brought against the Navajos by five companies who jointly operate a \$600-million generating station in Page, Ariz. He said that "taxation power is an inherent attribute of tribal sovereignty," and that the terms of an 1868 treaty between the federal government and the Navajos guarantees the tribe the right to "exclude non-Indians from their reservations" as a means of enforcing such a tax.

Copple side-stepped a second claim in the lawsuit, that the tax violates the terms of the tribe's 1968 lease agreement with the power companies, which expires in 2003. He deferred this question to the Secretary of the Interior, who will have to arbitrate the dispute.

The Copple decision will bring considerably more than nickel and dime revenue to the tribe. Although the 12 million-acre Navajo reservation was once regarded as barren, unprofitable land, the discovery of large amounts of coal, uranium, oil and natural gas in the past two decades has attracted a long list of energy conglomerates. Under the terms of the '60s lease agreements, these companies paid taxes to the state and federal governments, while the tribe received a considerably smaller lease fee and a minuscule royalty payment. Until this year, for example, coal companies paid the tribe about 15¢ per ton of coal, or roughly 2 percent of its market value. As a result of the Copple decision, the Navajo tax commission estimates the tribe will receive an additional revenue of approximately \$28 million in the first year of taxation alone. The ramifications of the Copple decision

for other tribes across the country are "very broad and significant," Sue Williams, chair of the Navajo tax commission and the woman responsible for developing the new Navajo tax program says. "It will enable the tribes to become more self-reliant, and will provide the tribal governments with a 'real world' way of dealing with their internal needs.

"would have a hell of a lot of impact. The BIA's potential trust liability for mismanagement of trust resources is great."

The Interior Department has been more supportive of Indian rights under Cecil B. Andrus's administration than in past years, Williams notes, adding that "Andrus has proven a very fair man so

80 percent cheaper than if they moved off-reservation."

If the Interior Dept. finds the contracts to be valid and the Navajo taxes therefore a lease violation, the tribe will have no route for appealing the decision. And while Andrus serves only as arbitrator and possesses no authority to force the tribe's compliance with an unfavorable decision, the BIA may try to pressure the tribe by threatening to withhold its annual funding of roughly \$26 million if the tribe refuses to drop the taxes. The threat of withdrawing recognition of the Navajos' tribal status is the "ultimate threat," according to Al Zientz, a Seattle-based lawyer who has represented several Indian tribes in lawsuits, "If you're not a recognized tribal government then you cannot get appropriated funds put at your disposal," he explains.

Upon learning of the Copple decision, Navajo Council chairman Peter McDonald said that, "While this case is certainly not concluded, I am pleased with this victory for all Navajo people." McDonald, who is currently campaigning for reelection against the former council chairman under whose term the lease agreements were signed, added he plans to use all "the resources available to us to see to it that a system of government, including a tax program which is fair to all people within our lands, will be the law and will be obeyed by all those who come within our lands."

"It's been a good day," he concluded. *Peter Melnick is a writer in Arizona.*

The Navajos have won the right to tax corporations operating on their lands. Companies have paid the Indians very little in the past.

Had the decision gone the other way, it would have destroyed the tribes," Williams says. "But in terms of the contractual questions, we're not out of danger yet," she adds.

Williams says the tribe will try to convince the Secretary of the Interior that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—whose legal relation to the tribe is that of trustee to ward-of-state—failed to act in the tribe's best interest when it approved the lease agreements with the companies.

Citing the unusually long period of the lease agreement, as well as the paltry royalty payments and the clause restricting the tribe from taxing these companies, Williams says the tribal officials who accepted the contract in the '60s "were not sufficiently informed of its long-range significance." And, Williams says, they lacked experience in the bargaining game.

"Our people didn't understand that those plants had to be built. The tribe did not need to accept such give-away terms."

Indeed, BIA officials today agree that the federal Indian agency was remiss in its duties concerning the lease agreements. "There is no doubt that those leases would not be approved today," David Harrison, Rights Protection Officer with the BIA, readily admits.

According to Peter Taylor, special counsel with the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, a decision critical of the BIA's role as Navajo trustee

far." Nevertheless, the BIA is run under the Interior Department's auspices, which may make it difficult for Andrus to admit that the BIA closed its eyes to an inadequate lease agreement.

"An intolerable situation."

Meanwhile, members of the companies involved in the lawsuits are preparing their appeals. Stan Hancock, a spokesman for the Salt River Project, one of the five plaintiffs in the lawsuit, says his company might decide against building any further plants on any reservation because of "financial uncertainty." Complaining of the difference between federal sulfur emissions standards and the Navajo penalty tax levels for emissions, he says, "You can't possibly shoot a moving target. When you invest close to \$1 billion to comply with one set of standards, and the tribal council says, 'No, that's no good, you have to pay an extra \$10 million a year,' why, that's an intolerable situation."

Bobby George, administrative assistant to the Navajo tribal chairman, says the Salt River Project's position on future projects is "unrealistic and unfeasible. The taxes we will impose won't even come close to what these companies would have to pay in the form of municipal and county taxes off the reservation. They know they can't afford to go anywhere else, because even if they won't get as good a deal here as they had before, it will still be 50-

Kucinich wins recall recount

Supporters of the Kucinich recall election demanded a recount of the Aug. 13 vote that gave Cleveland's mayor a very narrow victory. (See 177, Aug. 23.) Dennis Kucinich won the first count by a scant 391 votes, or .3 percent of the 120,000 votes cast.

The final tally, released last week, gave recall proponents 60,014 votes, and Kucinich supporters 60,250. Kucinich's margin of victory narrowed from 391 to 236 votes.

IN THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA

Black guerillas battle government in unreported war



STRICT PRESS CENSORSHIP GENERALLY PREVENTS reports of guerilla activity inside South Africa. We present here the first in a series of articles on South Africa, which we hope will provide IN THESE TIMES readers with a view of that country they don't usually encounter in their daily papers. To protect our author, we have had to keep his or her real name and dateline secret.

**By Our Correspondent
in Southern Africa**

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, one of the main branches of the South African liberation movement, announced Aug. 13 from its Zambian headquarters that ANC fighters killed ten South African soldiers in a battle only 75 miles from Pretoria earlier this month.

South Africa has officially denied the claim. But a week ago, South African newspapers reported a gun battle between "terrorists" and the South African defense forces near the Botswana border, in which one "terrorist" was captured and two more escaped.

The South African accounts did not mention any police casualties, but they did imply that more than three guerillas were hiding in the rocky, thorn-covered hills that rise out of the sandy plains near the border.

Apparently, the police discovered the guerillas' hideout when the owner of a

small village store reported that thieves had broken in during the night, stealing large quantities of tinned goods—presumably supplies for a guerilla band. The police seem to have met the group and engaged in a pitched battle.

Press censorship.

This is not the first time guerillas and police have fought skirmishes inside South Africa. During the last year, there have been rumors of other fights, along the Botswana border and in the more mountainous terrain near Swaziland. But this most recent battle is important, for it marks the first time the ANC has claimed a victory, and promised further action.

Although gun battles between liberation fighters and government soldiers are relatively common in Namibia and Zimbabwe, strict press censorship has kept reports of any activities inside South Africa out of the newspapers. It is illegal for papers to print independent reports of "terrorist" actions, forcing the public to rely on police accounts—which

means that no one except the defense forces knows how much anti-apartheid sabotage there really is.

Nevertheless, a close reading of police statements suggests that arson, bombings and occasional assassinations—as well as infrequent border skirmishes—are far more common in South Africa than government authorities are willing to admit.

Frequently, black South Africans are convicted of arson or bombing attempts, but those attempts are rarely reported before the cases come to trial. When violence is reported, the police often try to link it to criminal charges, such as theft, to avoid the appearance of politically-motivated sabotage inside South Africa's borders.

In the last nine months, there have also been a number of machine-gun killings, all following the same pattern: a well-known and widely hated police official has been shot as he walked home, or once he got inside his house. Recently, as press censorship has gotten stricter, these assassinations have been attributed to gangsters; but the victims have all been better known for their roles in suppressing riots than for their anti-crime activities.

And several caches of arms have been discovered in black townships in recent weeks. Again, police statements have linked the weapons to black gangsters, but in most cases those links have seemed tenuous at best.

Police open fire.

Although it is difficult to determine the full extent of politically-motivated violence, efforts by white South Africans to tighten security belie official statements that the country has returned to a pre-Soweto quiescence.

The Bantu Administration Board, for example, recently sent a circular to white residents of a Johannesburg suburb, urging them to register all black employees and domestics because "terrorists have been found on private premises in White urban areas." The major theme of a recent Johannesburg building exhibit was security—highlighted by a police display of captured terrorist weapons. "Security should be built into a project when it is first designed," visitors to the exhibit were told. "To incorporate security afterwards is expensive and unsightly."

Since the 1976 riots, white South Africans have been the most heavily armed civilian population in the world. It has become routine for whites to carry handguns; at the entrance to national game parks, visitors are requested to check their weapons as they might check their coats in a restaurant, and white lecturers at a black university in Zululand regularly carry pistols to their classes.

Certainly the tension has affected the police, who seem to require even less provocation than usual before firing into black crowds. South Africa's police forces have always been known for their freedom to fire on crowds, but now stories of police dispersing groups by firing on them appear almost daily.

In one incident last month, police tried to stop blacks from taking firewood from a municipal building site. When a crowd gathered, police opened fire, killing several onlookers. In another, police opened fire on a crowd for no apparent reason, killing a man who was later described as "an alleged car thief."

Border raids.

But if the threat of urban sabotage is a very real one, white South Africa long ago developed ways of dealing with it. The pass laws, which severely restrict blacks' movement in white-designated areas, provide an easy excuse for jailing suspicious persons, while the blanket "Internal Security Act" allows the government to detain people without trial indefinitely. These laws are used with increasing regularity now, though they have always been a basic part of the apartheid system.

Border incursions, such as the one the ANC announced, are harder to avoid. As

South Africa's northern neighbors—Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia—are being liberated, it is becoming more and more difficult for South Africa to guard against guerilla attacks.

Much of South Africa's terrain is unsuitable for guerilla movement—long expanses of grassland and low brush do not provide much cover. But in some areas, the border regions are hillier, and offer more hiding places for liberation fighters coming south from liberated countries.

The South African army has built up its border guards, and has on several occasions gone over the borders into Angola and possibly Swaziland to attack guerilla bases. Since January, the government has also claimed the right to expropriate land within ten kilometers of any border for military use.

White civilians have joined in the effort to increase border security. Farmers along the Zimbabwe-South African border are planting sisal, a tough, prickly plant, on open tracts of land, to prevent guerillas from crossing over from Zimbabwe. Farmers in the eastern Transvaal, the area closest to Maputo, have begun to take security measures similar to those common in Rhodesia, with barbed-wire fences and searchlights on isolated farms. One white South African is said to have built a concrete fort on his land, with a supply of food that will last for months if he is besieged.

And, to help raise morale among South African soldiers, the South African *Sunday Times* has run a series of bikini-clad women stroking machine guns and cuddling up to tanks, for "our boys on the border."

Training guerillas.

But the security precautions only underline the danger that white South Africa faces. Although its army has some of the best equipment in the world—bought from companies in the U.S. and Europe, despite the UN sanctions—the ANC and its sister organization the Pan-Africanist Congress have been training guerillas for the last 15 years, waiting for the liberation of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to give them access to South Africa.

Thousands of refugees have left South Africa in the last few years, especially since the 1976 disturbances. They go north through Botswana and Swaziland, two countries that, as members of the Organization of African Unity, have pledged to give support to the South African liberation struggle. Some of the refugees stop there, living in UN-funded refugee camps; but many more go on, to military training camps in Tanzania and Angola.

No one knows how many soldiers are currently training in the camps—for obvious reasons, neither the ANC nor the PAC will reveal either the camps' exact locations nor how many people they contain. However, the head of the Johannesburg security police has estimated there are at least 4,000 black South Africans currently undergoing training, probably more.

Whatever their numbers, the flow of ANC and PAC facilities already goes both ways. Three ANC vehicles are reported to go through Swaziland as often as once a week, carrying members of the ANC's military branch, *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, from a point on the Swaziland-Mozambique border to somewhere inside South Africa. In fact, South African government officials have suggested that if the Swazis don't do a better job guarding their Mozambique border, the South African army will come in and guard it for them—a suggestion that tiny Swaziland can hardly afford to ignore.

For now, however, the threat of border skirmishes remains vague, if very real; only the South African police know the full extent of it, and they aren't telling. But a few months ago, Rear Admiral Edwards of the South African Defense Force said flatly, "Time is running out—time has run out... I don't think we have five years to play with..." ■

THE SOVIETS

Brezhnev tries to lift worker morale

The recent trials of Soviet dissidents have refocused attention on the question of constitutional rights and civil liberties in the Soviet Union. In a three-part series, of which this is the second part, Albert Resis, a specialist in Soviet affairs, analyzes the conflicts that surrounded the recently adopted Soviet Constitution.

By Albert Resis

For nearly 15 years top leaders of the Soviet Communist party were unable to agree on whether a new constitution should go back to Stalinism, mark time, or go on to greater socialist democracy. On June 4, 1977, after years of virtual silence on this issue, Brezhnev suddenly presented a draft constitution for nationwide distribution.

The current struggle over detente and human rights heightened the need for a new constitution. Brezhnev, who holds two of the three highest posts in the USSR, has made peaceful coexistence the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy. And the new constitution makes just that point. But the neo-Stalinists, probably in exchange for their acquiescence in detente, won limited license to hound dissidents.

Meanwhile, Western cold warriors demanded Soviet concessions on the human rights issue as the price the USSR must pay for further detente, finding the support for this linkage of detente and human rights in Soviet dissidents such as Andrei Sakharov. The new constitution, which enlarges the rights (and obligations) of Soviet citizens, is intended to break up this alliance.

Its adoption coincided with the convocation on Oct. 4, 1977, of the Belgrade International Conference to examine implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Accords on European Security and Cooperation. Article 29 of the new Constitution contains the Helsinki Accord's ten principles of relations between states, including "respect for human rights and basic liberties."

The new constitution is also designed to reverse the decline of Moscow's influence on the fraternal communist parties in Italy, France, Spain, Britain and elsewhere. Disassociating themselves from the Soviet model, the "Eurocommunist" parties in effect function as a surrogate for the "loyal opposition," the party democrats who are not permitted to speak out publicly within the USSR.

But the decisive reason, perhaps, for the adoption of a new constitution at this time is the ominous slowing down of the Soviet economic growth rate. The Constitution is part of the Brezhnev leadership's campaign to restore enthusiasm in workers who no longer respond to hackneyed slogans and to foster a detente that will facilitate imports of advanced technology.

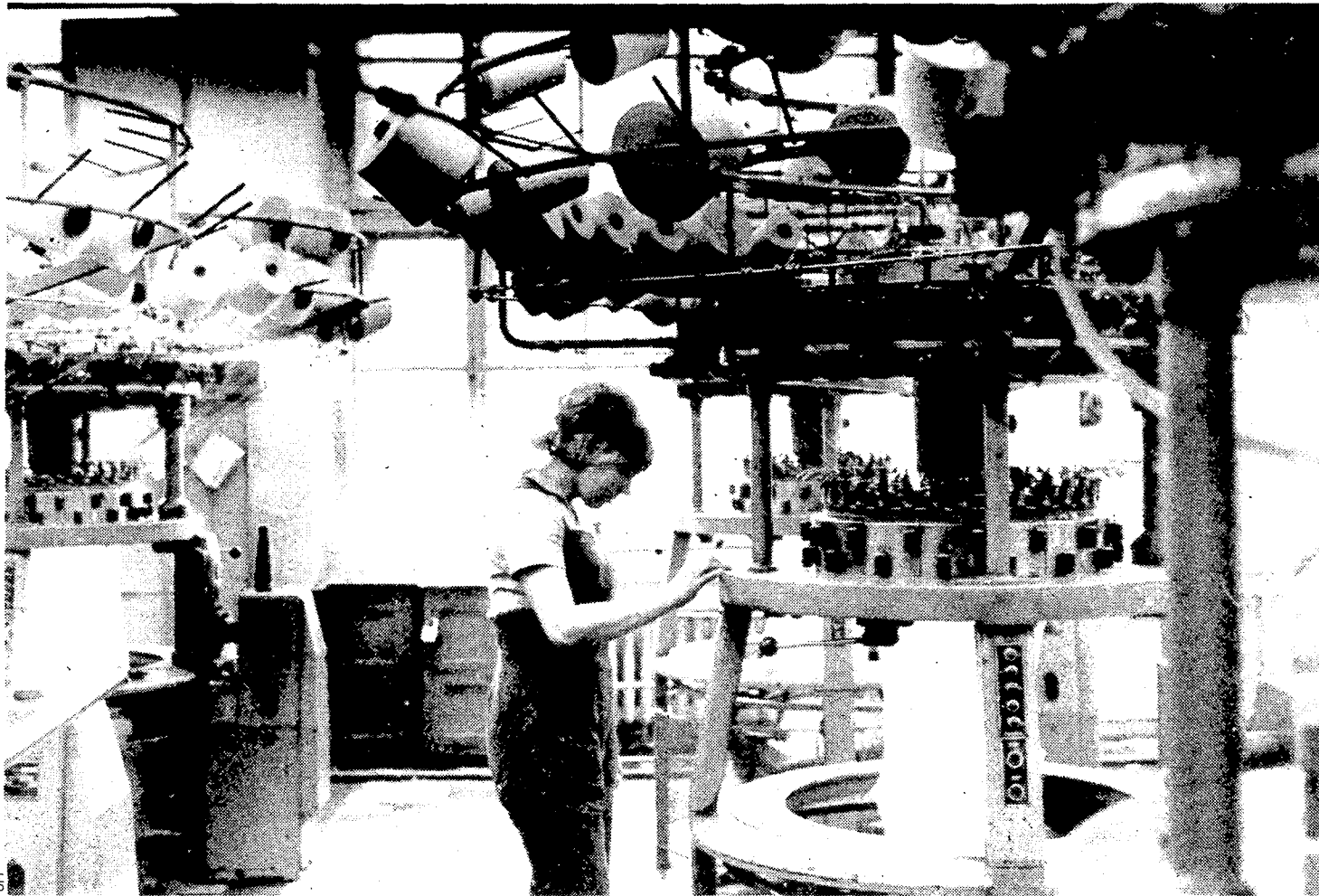
Developed underdeveloped country.

Since 1937, when the USSR moved from fifth to second place behind the U.S. in world industrial production, the USSR has sought "to overtake and surpass" American industrial output.

On the whole, the Soviet economy seems to be closing the industrial gap with the U.S. In 1975 Soviet industrial production, Moscow claims, reached 80 percent of the American level, up from the 30 percent claimed for 1950. Achieved without American economic aid, this is the real "economic miracle" of postwar Europe.

In fact, by the late 1960s, the USSR outproduced the U.S. in tractors and diesel and electric locomotives. In 1975, the USSR outproduced the U.S. in crude oil by 19 percent, steel 30 percent, mineral fertilizer 31 percent, cement 88 percent, and cotton fabric 66 percent.

These figures represent remarkable gains; paradoxically, they also highlight the continued backwardness of key sectors of the Soviet economy. A genuinely up-to-date economy must find substitutes



A worker at a machine in Kiev's Rosa Luxembourg factory, one of the largest textile plants in the Ukraine.

Flagging labor productivity is at the heart of the Soviet economy's recent slowdown. The constitution was intended to remedy it.

for oil. High-quality steel (in which the U.S. also lags behind West Germany and Japan) and steel substitutes are essential. Soviet farmers still spread much less fertilizer per acre than American farmers. Production costs of Soviet cotton fabric are inordinately high, and high output of cotton cloth attests to the underdeveloped state of synthetic fiber production.

In agriculture, Soviet wheat production is higher than that of the U.S., supporting Soviet per-capita consumption of bread and cereal products of 310 lbs. per year against 152 lbs. in the U.S. (1974). Shortages of high-quality feed grain (too little corn and no soy beans), however, force the USSR into heavy imports of feed grain in order to boost livestock production. Soviet meat consumption in 1975 was only 114 lbs. per person against 238 lbs. in the U.S. Low prices of meat and dairy products in the state stores are maintained by enormous state subsidies to cover agriculture's high production costs. Soviet statistics show that Soviet farm labor productivity is only 20 to 25 percent of the U.S. Overall Soviet agricultural output, Soviet sources claim, is 85 percent of U.S.

Soviet industrial products, with few exceptions, cannot compete in the world market, especially in the U.S. where Soviet products are denied most-favored-nation (equal) terms. In 1975 Soviet exports of machinery, equipment, and means of transport represented only 18.7 percent of total exports. The rest consisted mainly of fuels, electrical energy, and raw materials. Over one-third of Soviet imports consisted of machinery, equipment, and means of transport. The USSR remains, as the British economist Alec Nove said, "the most highly developed of the underdeveloped countries."

Declining productivity.

Soviet planners hope that fulfillment of the Tenth Five Year Plan (1976-1980) will bring Soviet national income up to 85 percent, gross industrial product up to 109 percent, and agricultural output up to 100 percent of U.S. 1975 figures for corresponding sectors. Even if these targets are

reached, Soviet per-capita production will still lag far behind that of the U.S.

But poor economic performance during the past few years make reaching even these goals doubtful. True, the USSR is not afflicted with the chronic high unemployment and "stagflation" plaguing the capitalist world. But the annual rate of Soviet industrial growth is declining sharply.

In 1951-1975 Soviet industrial production increased at a spectacular rate, an average annual increase of 9.6 percent (against 3.8 percent in the U.S.) Soviet industrial output increased 8.5 percent in 1970 but only 4.8 percent in 1976. Despite a 5.8 percent increase in 1977, the 1978 plan calls for a mere 4.5 percent increase, the smallest gain since the war. Compared with capitalist industrial growth rates, this is still a very impressive figure; but it is no longer exceptional.

Most disturbing to Soviet leaders however is the declining rate of annual increase in industrial labor productivity: 7 percent in 1970, 3.3 percent in 1976 and 3.8 percent slated for 1978. Soviet industrial labor productivity, Soviet sources report, constituted only 55 percent of U.S. in 1975. Small wonder then that Soviet leaders have made "Efficiency and Quality" the maxim of the current Five Year Plan.

The price of success.

The source of growing economic difficulties in the USSR is unique. The Soviet economy is now paying the price of success. Methods of economic planning, administration, and management that more or less served when the USSR was moving up from an underdeveloped stage are losing efficacy. The USSR's enormous, complex national economy is no longer responsive to the old centralized, bureaucratic, command methods, except in crash programs such as the Baikal-Amur Railroad, "the construction feat of the century."

Stalinism in economic administration has proved irretrievably resistant to innovation—except in weapons and space technology. Although the USSR has the means and the talent and the means for

taking the lead in the contemporary scientific and technological revolution—one-fourth of the total number of the world's scientists are Soviet—the USSR has instead fallen far behind. Thought control, red tape and irrational incentives have stultified innovation and awkward retention of old products and obsolete production methods. Consequently the USSR lags behind leading capitalist countries in the economic fields that produce the quickest or highest returns on outputs: computer and electronics technology, automation, petro-chemicals, anti-biotics, etc.

Rapid economic growth, in the Soviet heyday, was stimulated by a rapidly expanding labor force and capital stock. Soviet planners now face ever-more clamant demands by consumers and farmers on Soviet resources, which reduce the share of capital available to heavy industry. Moreover, the planners no longer have a rapidly expanding labor force, easily tapped oil and mineral resources, or reserves of potential farmland. Now, intensive, qualitative growth must be pursued. The economy must cut appalling waste and attain larger and quicker returns on capital, labor, and material outputs.

Soviet leaders, in short, have yet to devise methods of socialist administration of science, technology, and the economy that will sustain rapid growth in the transition from "developed socialism" to Communism. Failure to achieve superabundance will frustrate the rising expectations of the Soviet citizen who has been promised a Communist future that combines consumerism with welfare statism. Failure to satisfy such expectations could, by the 1980s, have disastrous political consequences for the moderate-conservative leadership.

The new Constitution, then, is part of Brezhnev's larger campaign to get the country moving again. This campaign is enjoying some success. For the first six months of 1978 compared with the first six months of 1977, Soviet industrial output increased 5.2 percent (4.5 percent planned). Labor productivity rose by the planned 3.8 percent. ■

By Edward Gold

WASHINGTON

MIDEAST

USSR and Iraq may be winners in coming summit

NEXT WEEK'S SADAT-BEGIN meetings represent the last chance to implement what many Mideast observers refer to as "Pax Kissinger," an eight-year-old diplomatic offensive designed to create a long-term political stability in the area that would enhance economic development and insure the flow of oil from Saudi Arabia.

The meetings also signal the deepening desperation of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and a widening split within the Saudi ruling family over the advisability of the American connection. Whether or not the talks result in a settlement, they will most likely usher in vast changes on the Mideast political scene.

Saudi Arabia the key interest.

The Near East is particularly crucial to both the U.S. military and business sectors. Military strategists have long defined two national security goals in the area: a land-bridge between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea (Israel) and a safe port for the Sixth Fleet (Haifa). Israel offers the added bonus of a "client army," which when supplied by the American defense industry obviates the need for American troops.

But the key interest in the area is Saudi Arabia, the beneficiary in this decade of the largest shift of finance capital in history. In dollar-value, the U.S. exports more to Saudi Arabia and imports more from Saudi Arabia than from any other country in the world.

Saudi holdings in the dollar are a closely-kept secret, but former Treasury Secretary William Simon stated that if the Saudis were to withdraw their deposits, "it would seriously crimp this nation's ability to borrow."

A vast array of government agencies, military missions and private corporations are currently working on contracts with the Saudis valued in the tens of billions of dollars. Four multinational oil corporations—Exxon, Mobil, Socal, and Texaco—have a particularly keen interest in the area, stemming from their near-total control of Saudi crude exports. Up to 17 percent of that oil is carried through Jordan, Syria and Lebanon through the Trans-Arabian pipeline (TAPline) at profit margins considerably higher than those of oil shipped by supertankers.

Neutralizing the PLO.

The thrust of American foreign policy in the Mideast since 1970 has been to neutralize the Palestinians as an immediate threat to the status quo and as a rallying-point for radical activity throughout the region.

In 1970, when Yassir Arafat and a group of commando leaders wrested control of the Palestine Liberation Organization from elements installed by Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser, the Palestinians became a formidable factor in the region's politics. In the same year, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, still under the PLO umbrella, cut the Saudi pipeline in the Golan Heights.

Jordan's Prince Hussein expelled the Palestinians in 1970, unleashing the full weight of his armies on soldiers and civilians. The Syrians reneged on air-support for the PLO, a decision attributed to then commander of the air force, Hafez Assad. Shortly after, while TAPline was still closed, Assad rose to power in a bloodless coup. He quickly acted to return western business seized in 1964, invited Western business in, and signed a lucrative long-term contract with TAPline for wayleaves through Syria.

Sadat, in 1973, abandoned the Palestinians when he signed the Sinai Disengagement Treaty, which ignores the existence of the Palestinians.

Most of the Palestinian exiles from Jordan settled in Lebanon, where Arafat forged an alliance with Kamaal Jumblatt, a Moslem nationalist leader who sought to alter the power balance in Lebanon. The country's constitution grants legislative autonomy to the Christian minority over the Moslem majority.

The Arafat-Jumblatt alliance was suc-

cessful on the battlefield, isolating Christian forces to the northern sixth of Lebanon. Syria, now under Assad, was forced to show its hand and its new political and economic orientation. Assad invaded, controlled the PLO, and occupied Lebanon.

By 1976, Arafat found himself between the Syrian army in the north and the Israeli army in the south, cut off from his traditional sources of supplies and the target of more and more attacks from radical groups based in Iraq. The stage seemed set for the flowering of "Pax Kissinger," in which the PLO would accept the West Bank, thus blunting radicalism in the area for years to come.

But Israel was no longer in the hands of the cooperative Labor Party. The reins had fallen to a right-wing nationalist theocrat, Menachem Begin, who refused to withdraw Israeli forces and colonies from the area he referred to as "Judea" and "Samaria," to reinforce Israel's Biblical claims to the West Bank.

Sadat's trip to Jerusalem changed nothing—Israel had rejected the "moderate" strategy, the strategy on which Sadat built his public career. The rejectionists in Syria and Iraq waited eagerly for the failure of the negotiated approach, to justify new calls for war.

Saudis call the meeting.

Sadat is not the only Mideast leader to hitch his fortunes to an American-spon-

sored settlement. The other is Crown Prince Fahd, the heir-apparent to King Khaled of Saudi Arabia. Fahd has long been the most visible proponent of the American connection in the Saudi hierarchy.

Resistance to Fahd's position began among his senior bureaucrats centered in the finance ministry, who argued that Saudi oil production levels were too high. At lower production levels, they argued, the Saudis could control their own development, avoid inflation, and avoid the need for imported labor. Fahd's policy was to comply with American demands.

As long as the opposition remained confined on the bureaucratic level, Fahd's position was not seriously threatened. But American hesitations on the F-15 deal shook Fahd's position.

Prince Abdullah, claiming that Fahd had attempted to maneuver him out of the succession line to the throne, joined with the growing faction in the Saudi hierarchy that urged a more independent course. When the F-15 deal passed the Senate, however, Fahd was off the hook.

But Fahd is on the hook again. Israeli intransigence or American weakness is seen in Riyadh as putting the lie to Fahd's reliance on the U.S. alone. Fahd outflanked the opposition by calling Sadat home last month, demanding that he cease negotiations with Israel or risk a cut-off of funds.

Carter, who can ill afford a breakdown

in the Mideast, appealed to Fahd for one final chance. Fahd, not surprisingly, relented. The Camp David meeting was as much called by Fahd as it was by Carter.

Carter may offer guarantees.

Begin will not reveal Israel's negotiating posture before the talks, except to hint that he will bring a "partial but permanent" peace settlement. What "partial but permanent" means, however, is anyone's guess.

Some expect Begin to offer Sadat half the Sinai in exchange for full diplomatic and economic relations, including trade and tourism. By itself, that would not represent even a partial settlement. Any settlement in the Mideast, to be durable, must deal with the Palestinians. As desperate and ill-armed as Sadat is, it is difficult to see him accepting such a humiliating solution.

Others hold that Begin will offer the Palestinians five years of limited autonomy on the West Bank, after which the status of the area would be renegotiated. This approach would cool the hottest flash-point in the area, blunting the Palestinian rejectionists' drive toward war.

Carter, many believe, will offer the American government as guarantor of the agreement, implicitly committing American troops.

The truth is probably a combination of the two. If the talks are a success, Sadat could attempt a graceful exit from Mideast politics as the man who brought a solution to the Palestinian problem.

The hitch is, of course, the Palestinians. Arafat's reported reconciliation meetings with Iraq leader Ahmad Bakr and even Assad suggest that the Palestinians may no longer be willing to accept a move to the West Bank. The decision facing Arafat is whether he is safer on the West Bank under international guarantees or under the protective wings of Syria and Iraq.

Nothing may come.

It is just as likely that nothing will come of the talks, that they were called out of desperation because of the impatience of the Saudis, that no one has anything new to offer, and that everyone will go home to prepare for a new war.

Sadat will have no other choice, if he has any choices at all. His entire domestic policy rests on the assumption that peace with Israel means prosperity at home, and that the only way to achieve peace with Israel is through the efforts of the U.S. He expelled the Soviet Union in an early move to reorient Egyptian foreign policy.

If Sadat were to return from Camp David with nothing, his policies of the last eight years would be shown up to be totally bankrupt, his "courageous steps" actually desperate scuffling.

A stalemate in the talks would probably produce a united Arab front, dominated by Saudi Arabia. A modified use of the oil weapon would not be surprising—a reduction in production would mollify the anti-Fahd faction at home and partly mollify the rejectionists in the Arab world. War looms as a real possibility, and soon.

Either way the talks wind up, the Soviet Union and Iraq figure to play a much larger role than they have played in the '70s. Iraq's oil industry, first retarded by the partners in ARAMCO and then boycotted after nationalisation, shows signs of independently developing the second-largest oil field in the Mideast.

Iraq's purchases from the French are seen as signals that Bakr is prepared to do business with the West, as long as no political strings are attached. Although at odds with the Soviets over Soviet support for Ethiopia against Eritrea, Iraq has no other solid source of weapons.

But the key to any settlement in the Near East remains the Palestinian issue. After Sadat's Jerusalem trip, Mideast observer Joe Stork wrote, "If it is true that Egypt and Israel are trying to beat their swords into plowshares on the Palestinian anvil, it is useful to recall Orwell's observation that it is always the anvil which breaks the hammer, and not the other way around."

Edward Gold teaches in the English Department of the University of Maryland.

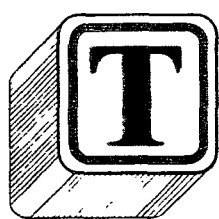


The U.S. attempt to create political stability in the Mideast is riding on next week's Sadat-Begin talks. Failure is the forecast.

HOW THE ME DECADE IS BECOMING THE WE DECADE

A BABY BOOM IN THE 80's?

YOU'VE GOT TO BE KIDDING



THE PRESENT IS ON THE verge of becoming an anachronism, and most of us don't even know it. Just at the moment when almost everybody appears to have caught on to the cult of single personhood with its narcissistic consumerism, the style is about to be

outdated without any advance signal.

The *Me* Decade is being superseded, quite naturally and without much fanfare, by the *We* Decade. America is about to be inundated with the biggest baby boom since the post-war explosion. Yesterday's baby boom babies are, as they near 30, today's baby boom parents. And just as the former boom lasted for ten years, from 1947 until its peak in 1957, when 4.3 million kids came screaming into the world, the coming boom will also be a prolonged affair.

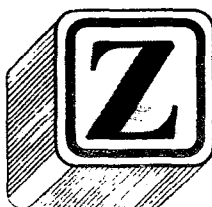
As the Seventies fade—a decade that social historians will eventually view as the infertile hiatus of the post World War II generation—the fecund Eighties are coming into view. For the past ten years or so, fewer women of childbearing age than ever has been having children; instead, young women have been spending their 20s trying to establish their independence, primarily by securing jobs and staying in the workforce. It was commonly thought by women that their personal strategies would be undermined most directly by having children. Careers are often tenuous, requiring pure concentration.

But the feeling of an impending limit to the years these women may continue to be childless looms imminent as they approach the fateful demarcation age of 30. For men, this age is freighted with emotional significance as well. Women, however, face an additional fact: it is increasingly unhealthy to bear first children after 30. Although entirely normal children can be born to mothers over 40, 30 is often felt to be a deadline. Most women, it turns out, don't want to avoid it. Only 10 percent of all women and 5 percent of married women wish to remain childless, accord-

ing to Census Bureau figures. Regardless of delay, a vast majority of young women desire to have children. They have merely pushed the decision back from the early 20s to their late 20s and early 30s.

This decision translates on a mass scale into a social phenomenon that might well define what the Eighties will look like. Although the family is undergoing changes of various sorts, it is not disappearing by any means. It remains, after all, the central institution in almost all our lives. But it doesn't exist in a vacuum—as the New Right wishes. Instead it is shaped by time and money. The increase of women in the workforce is a sign that families are unable to support themselves on a single income.

In Marxist terms this means that the rate of exploitation has increased, whether or not it is reflected in the amount of goods people possess. The economy shows no indications that the present dismal long-range trends will be reversed. Problems of employment, housing, day care, the cities, and taxes are likely to intensify. And the pressure point on all of these many problems may be traced, a decade from now, to the new baby boom. An increase in population will put renewed stress on all these crisis areas. It will also catalyze parents, who for the most part were the youth of the Sixties, to seek relief in the Eighties. The left can offer a great deal in the Eighties, especially if it understands that the coming decade won't be like the Sixties at all.



ZERO POPULATION GROWTH is the first group to see the early warning signs. It notes that the birth rate is up in the first four months of 1977 by five percent, a glimmer of things to come. In a recent report, ZPG expresses fear and trembling about the inevitable

"future rise in fertility." The study warns that if cou-

ples simply begin to reproduce themselves, having no more than two offspring, within the next five years the birth rate will increase by 18 percent, with four million births anticipated in 1980, a number just shy of the record achieved in 1957.

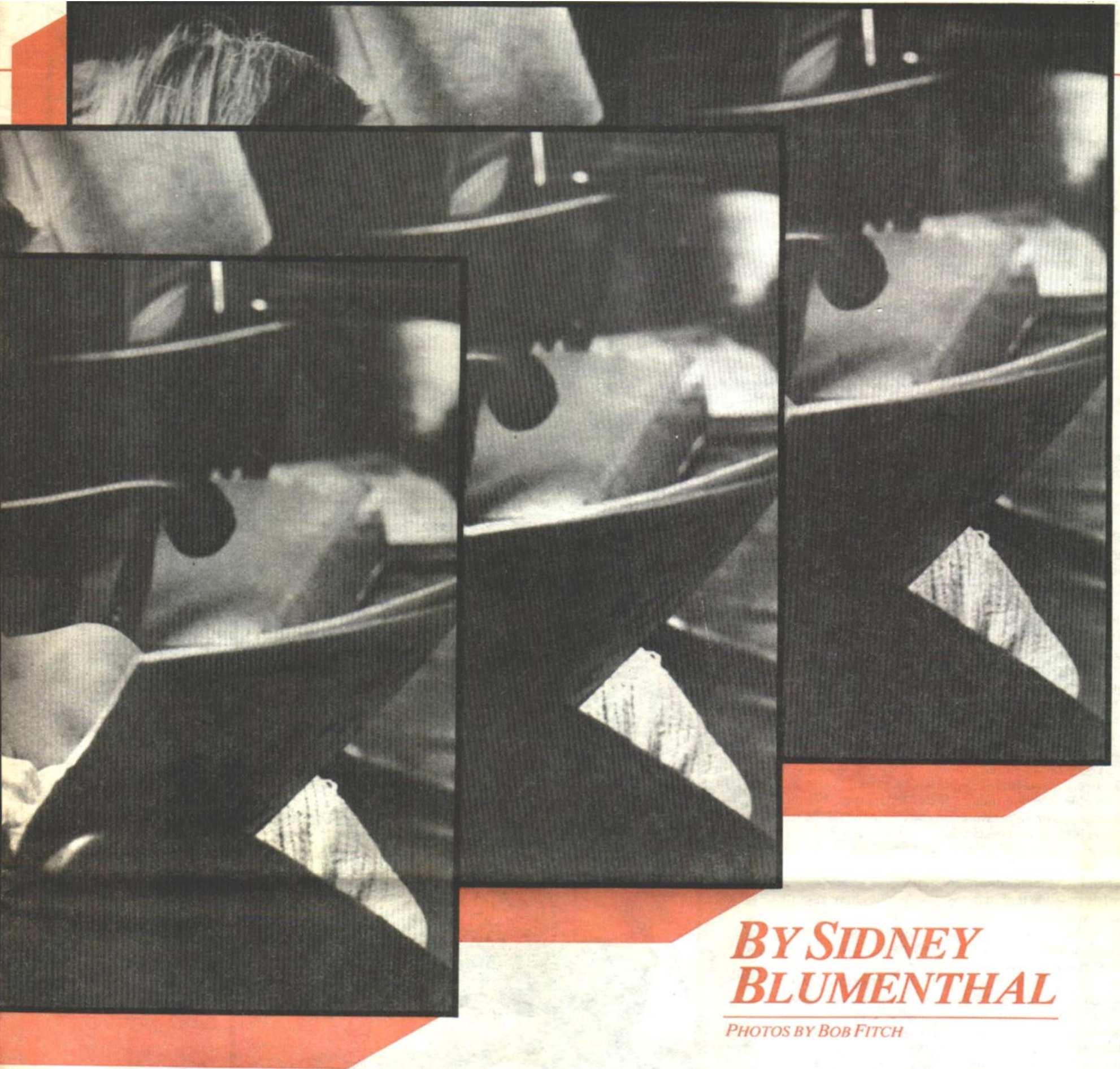
The Boston Hospital for Women, where 40 percent of the city's babies are born, has detected a definite upswing in births over the past two years. The low point was reached in 1972, but since then the rate has picked up, although not yet in a dramatic manner. Instead, the rise has been steady and incremental. This isn't surprising because the cutting edge of the post-war generation—the 1947 and 1948 babies—has just arrived at the age of 30.

"Many observers have a false impression that many women are not having children," observes Alvin Sanders, chief planner in the Massachusetts Office of Planning. Sanders has spent considerable time analyzing raw Census Bureau statistics and sketching an outline of the most fundamental social development of the Eighties: baby boom babies will reproduce themselves. Sanders has authored a new report on the subject, released as an official state document. The magnitude of the coming boom, he believes, will have enormous repercussions.

The statistic he regards as most crucial is the number of people turning 30, which in the last half of the Eighties will be roughly double that of the entire Sixties. The message of these figures is unavoidable:

- In the Sixties, 11 million turned 30.
- From 1970-75, 13.7 million turned 30.
- From 1975-80, 17.1 million will—the start of a great leap forward.
- From 1980-85, 19.1 million will reach 30.
- And from 1985-90, 20.7 million will attain that age.

From then on the curve will gradually descend again, but not before a major demographic shift carrying to the edge of the next century has occurred. The peak of this unprecedented mass rite of passage should be reached in 1988. And it will be accompanied by a new baby boom, too large to be called a boomlet. Couples



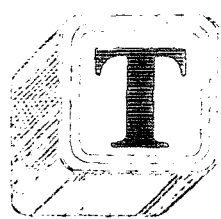
**BY SIDNEY
BLUMENTHAL**

PHOTOS BY BOB FITCH

may have fewer children than past generations, but they are beginning to have them in a sufficient quantity to generate another jump in the birth rate.

Perhaps a more conclusive indication that the boom has started is the perceptible jump in the infants' retail trade. Filene's department store in Boston reports that 1977 has been the biggest year in the Seventies for its infants' section. Macy's in New York City has launched a new maternity and infants' accessories departments with a free-public, week-long series of special seminars on parenthood conducted by doctors, psychologists and authors of books on having and raising children.

At the \$443 million-a-year Gerber Products Company, which does most of its trade in baby food, there is renewed faith that the birth rate will swing upwards. "We are somewhat optimistic about the future," says Arthur J. Frens, chairman of the board. His optimism has been fed by the company's demographers who are "predicting that the number of births might approach post-war levels of four million a year by the mid-1980s," he says.

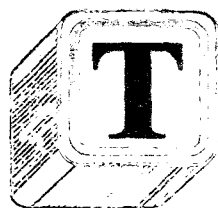


The post-World War II generation has always been a special case. Its sheer size requires that its elemental needs become paramount questions of social policy. The vast expenditure of public funds for the construction of schools and colleges was provoked by this population explosion. Similarly, the post-war generation has dominated popular culture since the rise of Elvis Presley.

With their ascendance to wage and salary-earning jobs in the mid-Seventies, but without the drain of having to support children, advertising has been pitched to attract their very disposable money. *Playboy* magazine, a bellwether of sorts, for example, shifts in ful-

some full-page spreads about the young adult male's acquisitive "lust" for living well. "You're the most vital, alive group of young men to come down the pike in a long time—the most vibrant group of prospects American business has been blessed with since the post-World War II boom," the ad informs its readers. Other media have also aimed their sights in this fancy-free market. *Us*, a new celebrity magazine cloned from *People* and published by the New York Times Company, describes itself as "for the young, lively, 18-34 year old crowd, the most dynamic, sought-after market in the U.S." Even the addition to newspapers of special supplements instructing readers where to spend a night on the town or which vegetable is chic this week can be attributed to the emergence of this market. Everyone with something to sell eagerly courts consumers, and the most attractive consumers these days are young adults. They are the biggest market with the most money to spend. A telling shift may occur, though, when young adults become more intrigued with cribs than waterbeds.

The narcissism characteristic of the Seventies cannot withstand the wail of babies, who must be picked up, comforted, fed, burped, diapered, and rocked back to sleep. Celebration of single living and instant gratification may be suddenly eclipsed by the new boom. The present no longer seems timeless and the future abstract when the generation that will inhabit it is crying in the next room. Werner Erhard (entrepreneur of "est") will not be able then to compete with Dr. Spock, who really does have the answers.



THE PRESENT IS SO SLOW that it feels like it may never go away. It is so artificial in tone that it cannibalizes past decades for disguises. *Happy Days* are here again, and every week. Most movies and made-for-television features employ the past as a backdrop: re-

fusing to depict contemporary scenery is part of the Seventies style. The fashions of the Seventies are basically reworkings of ordinary garb from the past, finished with designers' labels. There is a bored tenor to much cultural effort. Publishers and movie-makers, having exhausted a string of social movements for material, are now running out of sexual practices to present.

The self-absorption of the Seventies is perhaps best captured by Gail Sheehy's bestselling guide to personal growth, *Passages*, which portrays life as nasty, brutish, short and distinctly non-working class. The book itself has few passages on the profound effect children have on their parents, except to say that they help enslave women as housewives. These topics are the only ones listed under "children" in the index of *Passages*: "as companions; divorce and; letting go of." With books like this so popular it is easy to understand why the new boom is proceeding without any announcements. Although it has already begun, it is still not widely considered conceivable.

The new birth rate increase so far has been like a gentle, almost silent Leboyer birth, conducted under muted lights. It has hardly been noticed at all, except by those having babies. Part of the reason the trend has been received so informally is that it is unlike the past baby boom, which was intricately formalized in the suburbs. Children were typically regarded by the post-war suburbanites as the organizing principle of their lives. Suburban culture revolved around children, with most community facilities and activities devoted to keeping them busy. For adult residents, suburbia was felt to be some kind of fulfillment, the proper outcome of years of Depression and war. Nesting there was the common dream of the time. More than that, it was thought to be progress. In 1957 and 1958, Art Linkletter's book of humorous anecdotes, *Kids Say the Darndest Things*, placed at the top of the best-seller lists. The following year, Pat Boone's *Twixt Twelve and Twenty* dominated the literary charts.

Regardless of the merit of these efforts, they indicated interest in more than how to be your own best friend. In the Fifties parents subscribed to the ideal that they should try to be their children's best friend, as if the family was the buddy system.

A few things can be said with some assurance about the new boom, the most salient thing being that it will not replicate the last one. Compared with the excesses of the Fifties, the new emphasis on children will be tempered, primarily because of the mothers' desire and need to work. Having children will not inhibit women, who have already spent several years cultivating careers, from returning to them within a relatively short time after giving birth. Young families incur their greatest expenses at this point and without a second income the squeeze can be tight. Maintaining a family at a middling level now usually requires the mother to work; the fact that women also want to work hastens the process. In addition, almost all young women do not view day care centers as communist. They think of day care centers as a right, meaning that there will probably be more pressure on the federal government to finance expanded day care facilities.

Perhaps as important a factor in restraining child-centeredness like in the Fifties is the housing crisis, another key issue that may lead to pressure for federal intervention. In the past, children were offered as the *raison d'être* for the exodus to suburbia. But the housing problem facing young families now and in the foreseeable future is so severe that the experience of the late Forties and Fifties cannot possibly be reproduced.

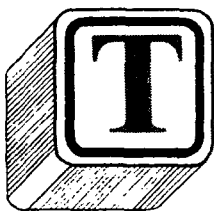
There will not be another great suburban migration. The housing issue primarily is one of cost, which at the present high levels prevents most young families from purchasing adequate houses of the type that were readily available to their parents.

The *Wall Street Journal* concurs that the housing situation is decisively linked to the post-war generation. "Currently pouring into the housing market in burgeoning numbers," the *Journal* reports, "they already are buying so many houses that they are helping keep home prices high." Paradoxically, the post-war generation as a group apparently desires to live in single family dwellings more than preceding generations. More than a third of all home purchases now are made by those under the age of 30.

A key factor making home ownership possible is the two-income family. Only with a working wife is a man able to swing today's heavy mortgages. Yet this creates enormous pressures on the family when the decision is made to have children. At least for some time, a woman with very young children is out of the job market, which drastically decreases family income when financial needs are greatest.

It's possible that many young families may migrate to towns located 30 to 40 miles from city centers, beyond the inner suburbs. The housing stock there is generally older and cheaper, perhaps making it attractive. But if suburbanization of exurbia were to happen, many of the problems of the Fifties and Sixties would simply repeat themselves on a more outrageous scale. Urban sprawl would be extended; new highways might have to be built; and the outer suburbs would have to increase services. Property taxes would then rise in these communities, driving more young families even farther to the fringe. Also, while inner suburbs, heavily populated by older middle-aged couples with neither children nor intentions of moving, are debating how many schools to close, the exurban towns may have to raise funds to construct new schools if the child population grows. The disjuncture may be great. Meanwhile, many young families will probably find themselves in cramped city apartments, willing to embrace any practical solution. Unfortunately, there doesn't appear to be any in the works. Few social planners or legislators are exhibiting any foresight.

The inevitability of an intensified housing crisis almost guarantees that it will become a volatile national issue within five years. The portents are too obvious. Young parents may then be among the largest voting blocs in the country. And politicians understand that housing is a direct bread-and-butter question. There will be pressure for a prompt resolution. The possibilities for rational metropolitan and city planning may increase, but so will the chances for expedient short-sighted programs. Whatever happens, housing will no longer be tainted as just a poor people's problem. The fate of families then will dominate much of public debate.



THE FAMILY ALREADY IS AN issue in national politics, although mainly on an emotional and symbolic level. Politicians from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan have based parts of their appeals on defending the family from the encroachments of modern life. Opposition to funding of abortions, among other things, is often justified as a "pro-family" stance. None of these politicians, however, has proposed crash construction of family dwellings, extensive upgrading of

the public schools or even the banning of sugar-cereal and toy television ads aimed at pre-schoolers.

The most strident and least programmatic defense of the family comes from the far right, which has tried to appropriate the issue for its own ends. It's striking that the new right (which is really the old right with a computerized mailing list) has seized upon the family as an issue when there are more single people than ever before. With their clarion call for a restoration of traditional values the right hopes to convince parents that only conservatives speak in their interest. Phyllis Schlafly, a member of the John Birch Society and the leading right-wing opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, says, "The libs (women's liberation advocates) will learn that lesbian privileges and child care and the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion are anti-family goals, and not what the American people want."

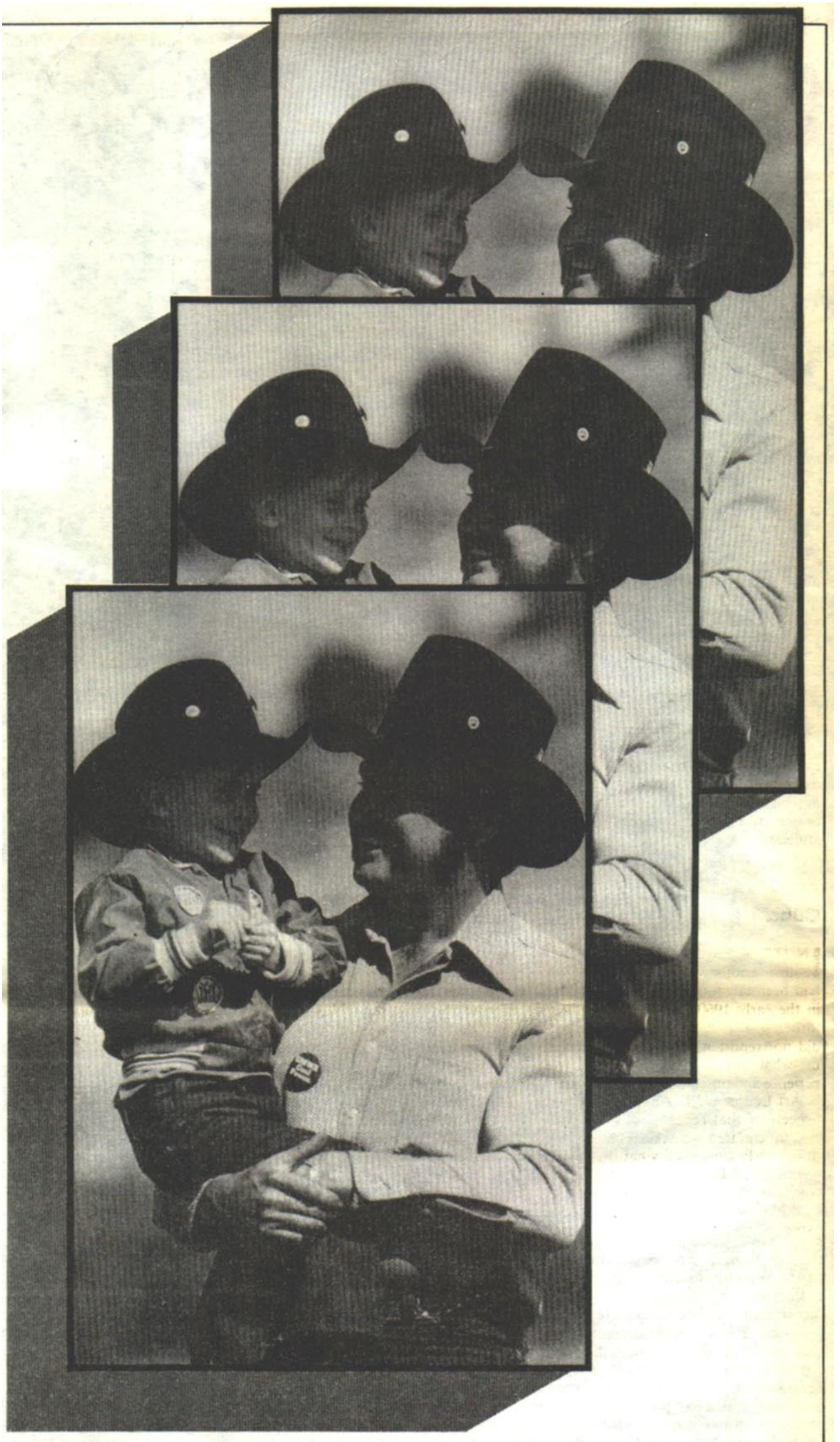
But if family demographics change sharply within the next five years, conservatives may be left without the convenient "pro-family" catch-phrases. They prefer to oppose the existence of reality rather than cope with it, yearning for a return to the self-sufficient 19th century agrarian family in which adults exercised complete control over their brood. This myth is a corollary of the conservative quest for absolute individualism.

Families, like the Cartrights in the television Western series *Bonanza*, are the only form of communalism the right permits in theory. Politically, conservatives focus on lurid aspects of modern life like pornography, although their intent is much broader. They feel things are so out of control that families ought to be insulated from social influences. This brand of conservatism is a new isolationism. Young families of the near future, however, will be preoccupied with vexing problems like housing. *McGuffey's Reader*, a conservative symbol of the back-to-basics approach, won't provide answers, but the federal government, the right's bogeyman, might.

The Eighties promise to be a curious, unique amalgam. In order to preserve the equilibrium of the family, buffeted by economic forces, some kind of political action will be required. To youths of the Sixties—the parents of the Eighties—it might seem ironic that the supposedly ultimate sanctuary of privatism, the nuclear family, will become the focus of public debate. But private life will become a public question because its internal problems will demand external solutions.

The Seventies will not last forever. They're just a passing lull.

Sidney Blumenthal is the Boston correspondent for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Letters

Bill Walton and the new class

THANKS TO MARK NAISON FOR this piece on Bill Walton and the pressure on pro athletes to use pain-killing drugs. It would be a mistake, though, to see this purely as a case of greedy owners against exploited players.

The main reason players get hurt is the same reason mediocre players make in excess of \$100,000 a year. The season is too long—about 100 games in 200 days. It is a grueling, inhuman ordeal, suitable for an antelope or a John Havlicek. First-stringers are supposed to go all out 35 to 40 minutes a game, night in and night out. In fact, they don't—as a discriminating viewer of a meaningless mid-season game can readily perceive.

The players get hurt, the fans are cheated and much money is made. But if any of this upsets the Players' Association, it is a well-kept secret.

The fact is that NBA players would rather be rich than healthy. I'm sure this makes the owners very happy, but it does not make them the only villain in this drama of occupational health and the proletariat.

—David Gelber
Chicago, Ill.

Cuba

IN *ITT*, JULY 12, I REPORTED ON conversations with young people who had been taken out of Cuba as children in the early 1960s and had recently returned to the island for the first time. I did not report what I had experienced, but what they told me had been their experience and observation.

Art Lebrez (*ITT*, Aug. 9) challenges aspects of that report dealing with the reasons children were taken out of Cuba in the early 1960s and what they experienced in the U.S. He was there, Lebrez writes, I was not. True. But the people I interviewed were also there, and their experience—or perhaps their perception of it—differed from his. It was their perception I was reporting, not mine.

A second critique, citing the story's warning by Cubans not to idealize their revolution, observes that this was precisely what I did. The people I interviewed went to Cuba to observe the situation there but were in no position to make a detailed study of the complex Cuban revolutionary phenomenon, nor could *ITT* publish such a detailed study. They were enthusiastic about the revolution's positive achievements (and surprised by some of them) and they communicated this. Unquestionably there are shortcomings, some quite severe. But a couple of things should be said about this.

Over the past five years or so the revolution has gone through radical structural changes that have altered its character considerably. Some of these have been in response to criticism both from within and from foreign radical socialist sympathizers. The changes have far from eliminated all failings, but they have substantially met some past major criticisms. Hence Cuba cannot be

CORRECTION:

In the article by David Pitt on the New York Pressmen's strike, we erred by suggesting that the Printing Trades Council called for simultaneous strikes by member unions. They have held off on calling the other unions out. The Guild at the *Post*, the Machinists and the Paperhandlers have, however, joined the striking Pressmen.

judged today on the basis of earlier observation. The current evolving structure is a consequence of years of experimentation and fumbling.

—Max Gordon
Rockaway Park, N.Y.

Opposing abortion not anti-woman

OBJECT TO THE RECENT ARTICLE (*ITT*, Aug. 9) listing non-violent sit-ins among the "assaults" against abortion clinics, and unfairly implicating PEACE (People Expressing a Concern for Everyone) as guilty of anti-woman violence.

If *ITT* is concerned about truth in its journalistic language, then you must admit that the statement "non-violent sit-in = violent assault" is simply Orwellian. And the assumption that anti-abortion activism is anti-woman also deserves a critique.

I am a feminist with an 11-year history of anti-war and civil-rights involvement. Together with four other women and four men, I participated in a sit-in at Women's Health Services in Pittsburgh, Pa., on Aug. 8. WHS is a veritable Pentagon of abortion, aborting nearly 10,000 fetuses a year. Five medical malpractice lawsuits are pending against WHS, brought by women who have had their uteruses punctured, who have suffered serious infections and lost their reproductive organs (uterus, tubes, ovaries, all), or who have endured other complications following botched "legal" abortions.

I sat-in at WHS because I believe that when a woman's pregnancy poses an emotional, social, or financial crisis, she has a right to better help than that offered by the abortion industry.

It is no surprise that Playboy Foundation money joined with Rockefeller Foundation money to lobby for "elective" abortion. Any volunteer at any problem-pregnancy service hears, over and over again, women explaining that their boyfriends are willing to pay for an abortion, but will desert them if they decide to bear the child. These men are following the lead of the playboys and male technocrats who can neither interpret nor control their own sexuality, or who would rather "terminate" a few hundred thousand Medicaid babies a year than promote the kind of redistributist social justice that would give the children of the poor their birthright.

—Juli Loesch
Erie, Pa.

A word from our sponsor

I WAS VERY PLEASED WITH your articles on religion. As everybody knows, Nietzsche is dead.

—God
(Address unknown)

Alternative Policies

UPON READING JOHN JUDIS' and David Moberg's accounts of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies (*ITT*, Aug. 2), I was confused by Hayden's position that the left must have a national organization in order to be effective. If he means that we need a single organization with affiliates throughout the country, I fear a dictatorship with a few "organizers" at its head.

As a former community organizer for such an outfit, I saw development in just that direction.

The problem arises when perpetuation of the organization becomes the most important function of individual groups, with local and state issues assuming a secondary priority. Neighborhood groups then must avoid confronting issues that are possible or even probable, losers as non-members and members alike might feel the organization is ineffective.

That policy is perhaps wise at first to build group confidence, but continuing with the policy year after year gives com-

munity people very little intellectual credit.

However, if Hayden is talking about small, democratic, and independent groups maintaining contact with each other and organizing together on some national issues—he has my wholehearted support.

—Kathleen Garrett
Mission, S.D.

The Peace People

I SUGGEST THAT ALFRED McClung Lee reexamine some of the petrified ideological misconceptions he tossed out in gratuitously denouncing the Peace People movement in Northern Ireland (*ITT*, Aug. 2)? In Lee's vulgar economic determinism the Peace People are merely "muppets" serving the British and multinational capital in that troubled land.

The truth of the matter is that the situation is not so simple. As Denis Barritt, director of the Belfast Voluntary Welfare Society (which ministers to both Catholic and Protestant areas) once said to me, "The problem in Northern Ireland is more complicated than just 'British get the hell out.'"

Of course British capital has exploited Irish workers for centuries and at times played Catholics off against Protestants to achieve their ends. The current Labor government, however, would like nothing better than to extricate itself from Ulster in a manner that would preclude bloodshed and insure self-determination. Lee seems to forget his recent history: the escalation of British military might in the province was originally designed to forestall attacks by the Protestant Ulster militia against the Catholic community.

While not a religious war in the strictest sense, people still identify with the church in cultural terms and it is the Peace People that are trying to bridge the gap between Protestant and Catholic, to isolate the armed gangs on both sides from popular support. Yes, the Peace People want British withdrawal but above all they want a halt to the indiscriminate shootings and bombings that have cursed the province for the past decade and a half.

—Patrick Laceyfield
New York

From sunny Alaska

ENCLOSED IS A SMALL CONTRIBUTION to help keep your publication going. Yours is the best and most complete regular publication of the left that has the possibility of nationwide dissemination of socialist feeling and philosophy.

Sorry I can't afford more but here's hoping you can keep up the good work!

—Norman Thompson
Adak, Alaska

And from the rainy Northwest

YOU ARE IMPORTANT TO US.

We want you to survive and grow. Enclosed is a check that we hope, in a small way at least, will help you do just that.

We get information from you that other publications either ignore or distort. You go in depth while other publications only scratch the surface assumptions and move on. Please survive, we not only like you but need you.

—Daniel Farber
Brian Cantwell
Kathy Pruitt
Olympia, Wash.

Christian socialists

I READ YOUR ISSUE RELATING Christianity and socialism (*ITT*, Aug. 2) with a deep sense of joy and satisfaction. Finally a publication is willing to recognize that there are sincere Marxists who are also Christians. It's a terribly lonely position to a Marxist and a Christian in the U.S.

I was deeply hurt by the criticism leveled at the issue. You deserve praise and not a lambasting. I hope that those who claim the church to be a socially reactionary institution, are aware of how pro-labor and socialist preachers were driven from Protestant pulpits earlier in this century. Where were the socialists when their allies needed them? They were arguing over Marxist doctrine and attacking Marx's opiate. It should be noted that as long as the socialist movement refuses to support its Christian socialist friends, it participates in a continual self-fulfilling prophecy that assures that socialist Christian church movements will always fail.

One of the reasons capitalism has succeeded as well as it has, is that it has not refused to participate in religious encounter or to use Christian religious symbols. In contrast there has been a socially prophetic minority throughout the history of the church, long before Marxism. It would be wrong to ignore the crimes of the church, for they are many. It would also be wrong to claim the prophetic minority is the majority. Nevertheless, it exists and it is a minority that secular Marxists need not fear! Socialism cannot afford to allow itself to be culturally impoverished by refusing to accept religious symbols that arise from the people.

—Timothy Bancroft
Oak Brook, Ill.

Kennedy and Dellums

YOUR ARTICLE (*ITT*, AUG. 16) on Carter's recent health insurance proposals does a good job of dissecting his attempt to give a little something to each special interest group—and, as a result, to deny a decent health care system to the rest of us. In the end, though, you fall into a carefully-designed trap laid by Kennedy and his labor supporters.

Months before his well-advertised split with Carter, Kennedy had abandoned his own bill for national health insurance (once termed the Kennedy-Corman bill). That called for a comprehensive, publicly-administered insurance system, regional budgeting to foster planning and cost control, and incentives to creating integrated, prepaid health systems.

Months ago Kennedy dropped all this and acceded to Carter's insistence on a gradual phase-in of the plan and on administration by the private insurance industry. He also gave in to Carter's unwillingness to tamper with the present privately-controlled fee-for-service health care system and was actively pursuing a joint compromise proposal.

Kennedy finally split with Carter only when the President refused to commit himself to a comprehensive program and insisted that implementation of later stages would depend on factors like the general rate of inflation and the size of the federal deficit. Kennedy stopped short when Carter decided to sell out the health of our people for the health of business, but he had already given away crucial features of his health insurance program.

The crucial need in providing Americans with decent health care is not only for financing, but also for reorganization of health care delivery and for its administration under public auspices. With Kennedy having abandoned his own bill, Ron Dellums' Health Service Act remains the only health plan that progressives can, in good conscience, give their full support.

—Leonard Rodberg
Washington, D.C.

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins. Letters must be signed, with a return address. We will withhold your name or use a pseudonym if you wish, but we will not print unsigned letters or those without addresses.

Ian Harris

The family disintegrates under the impact of corporate expansion

Only one of every five families in the U.S. conforms to the "husband/working-wife homemaker" nuclear model that has been a dominant pattern for so long. Social policy planners, service workers, church groups, community residents and even members of the establishment are all expressing concern about the changes in the American family.

As researchers Zaida Giraldo and Jack Weatherspoon of the Center for the Study of the Family and the State at Duke University commented in *Newsweek* (May 15), "All Americans must become aware that the 'ideal' family barely exists and will never return as a significant force in American life."

A variety of people are seeking scapegoats to explain this phenomenon. Male supremacists perceive that men are losing power over the family domain because of the changing roles of women. They blame the women's movement. Right-wingers indict "relaxed moral standards" as illustrated by the legality of abortion, the availability of contraception, and the adoption of sex education courses in schools.

Liberal strategists like John L. McKnight, associate director of the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University, suggests that the best thing government could do would be to stop intervening in families. He and others see parents as increasingly powerless in the face of governmental interference in their lives, which they see taking place through the welfare establishment, the public schools and the whole plethora of social service institutions that liberals have supported.

Arguments that the authority of families has been taken away by the government and given to professionals and specialists—to counselors, social workers, and psychiatrists—see the growth of social services, health care, and public education as responsible for robbing parents of their traditional roles as job trainers, teachers, nurses and nurturers.

The development of family life.

Although there is great diversity in anthropologists' understanding of early family life, human beings are thought to have originally lived in tribal units. Within these groupings the individual family had a limited role. The needs of the individual

U.S. 1977 million		
HUSBAND AND WIFE FAMILIES 6.2 MILLION	SINGLE-HEADED FAMILIES 3.2 MILLION	
NO CHILDREN UNDER 18 1.1 MILLION	WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18 2.6 MILLION	WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18 5.3 MILLION
	BOTH PARENTS WORKING FULL-TIME 11.4 MILLION	FULL TIME WORKING MOTHERS 3 MILLION
	HUSBAND ONLY WORKING FULL-TIME 11.4 MILLION	FULL TIME WORKING MOTHERS 3 MILLION
	HUSBAND ONLY WORKING FULL-TIME 12.4 MILLION	FULL TIME WORKING FATHERS 4 MILLION
	NEITHER PARENT WORKING 1.1 MILLION	NONWORKING FAMILY HEADS 1.9 MILLION

were taken care of by the community as a whole. Women banded together to assist at birth. Old people were nurtured by the group. Children were looked after collectively, etc.

As Europe became industrialized, people began to turn to the notion of romantic love, and family units began to see themselves as separate from the larger communities in which they lived. This separation was further enforced by the division of labor brought about by industrialization. Under these arrangements the extended family where mothers and fathers would live with their aunts, uncles, parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, and even cousins became the dominant mode of living and child-rearing. Although many people who came to America from both Europe and Africa were not able to bring their entire family with them, the extended family soon established itself as the most common family unit in the new world.

In the U.S. the extended family still exists in a few urban communities that

have been able to maintain a strong ethnic identity, but now represents only a tiny fraction of family units.

The extended family suffered its greatest setback in the 1950s with the invention and development of suburbs. The suburb became big business for real estate agents, construction firms, and land speculators.

In addition, large broadcasting corporations like ABC, CBS, and NBC found they could generate tremendous revenues by selling the image of a nuclear family living by itself in its own household. Advertisers such as G.E., Zenith, Philco, Sears, and other corporations were able to make people feel inadequate if they didn't have a well-kept lawn, a two-car garage, immaculate kitchen, a color T.V., the latest range, a dishwasher, a washing machine, and all the other paraphernalia portrayed as essential for "the good life." Such advertising and the way of life it projected made nuclear living the dominant mode of family life in the U.S. during the '60s.

In the 1970s the construction industry



began to experience the limits of growth, and large advertisers started to look for new ways to generate profit. As Barbara Ehrenreich has pointed out, the new image of the American woman is no longer one of the woman staying home and spending her life cleaning house and looking after children but rather one of the successful career woman with an attache case under one arm, and a tennis racket under the other.

Such images have generated whole new leisure industries with indoor tennis clubs, saunas, sports equipment, vacations and trendy shopping centers. These images have changed the role of American women and consequently of the American family, by making it much more desirable for women to work outside the home, and for people to lead single lifestyles.

In its unending quest for profits the capitalists in the U.S. will sell whatever image promotes their products. Witness what has happened to adolescents. Teenagers used to be looked after within family units, but somewhere in the 1950s the "teenage market" started to generate a whole series of products. The record and movie industries also reinforce the image of adolescents as a market separate from families.

Likewise with nursing homes: Senior citizens were taken away from the extended family, and isolated as a large market that could generate profit for health care providers.

Corporate capital has also affected traditional mores through the use of women's bodies to sell everything, and huge amounts of capital have been generated through the liberated lifestyles espoused by such enterprises as Playboy.

In 1978 teenage pregnancy accounts for 20 percent of the total births in the U.S., a statistic that can directly be related to expanded notions of morality that have been promoted by movies, television, radio, newspapers, and other forums of culture and media. Sociologists who describe this phenomenon say that many teenagers who become pregnant are seeking to create their own families, although they are most often poorly equipped to assume these responsibilities.

Ian Harris, a regular contributor to IN THESE TIMES, is a professor of community education at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Alan Snitow

A strategy for the left in the 1980 election

Working in the news department on one of the Pacifica stations, I've come up against a problem you may also be wrestling with: It doesn't seem enough to provide news and commentary—that does little more than say what most people on the left now realize—we need a "re-groupment" of political forces, an "anti-corporate political movement," etc.

Local and regional coalitions, involving labor, the left, minorities, community groups are fleeting. They form briefly around an issue and then dissipate as each group follows its own interests. Usually, the coalitions are beached on their narrow focus or their local limitations.

How to create an effective and stable coalition? A possible strategy, a left race in the presidential primaries, has been in the wind for some time, but I have not seen any reference to it in the left media.

One of the people who might consider such a race is Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA). In 1976 he was nominated for President by the National Black Political Convention. Dellums declined the nomination, not because he was against running for President, but because it was not time.

Perhaps, the time has come. In a recent interview with Pacifica Radio, Dellums said people have asked him to run in the primaries and he is "seriously considering" doing so.

Dellums said the aim of a campaign by himself or by some other leftist should be to challenge Jimmy Carter on the issues and to create a focus and national voice for a broad-based left coalition. It would not be a political party; nor would it function as a left wing of the Democratic Party (although I can imagine it might mobilize the party's Kennedy wing to defend itself from its left). Instead, it could become the "arena" for left political action by socialists and the many progressive people in the U.S. who find the political spectrum defined by Jimmy Carter, Jerry Brown, Jerry Ford, Ronald Reagan, and Howard Baker unsatisfying.

California, for example, is becoming a state in which political life is becoming a series of right-wing political graffiti: Bakke, Jarvis-Gann, Briggs, and so on. As IN THESE TIMES has noted editorially, the response from leftists has been completely defensive. The labor movement

seems politically paralyzed. Just a few days after Jerry Brown vetoes a tiny "cost of living" increase for public employees and welfare recipients, the California Federation of Labor endorses him with little dissent, although considerable grumbling.

As for the left media, we have lots of grist for good analysis, saying Jarvis-Gann is the end of the welfare state and the New Deal or that Bakke "breaks the compromise on racial equality embodied in the 60s civil rights acts." But such interpretation falls short of action.

The absence of even a "lesser evil" for 1980 because of the move to the right by all major political figures is a major opening for the left. Let's fill it in a public way with a left political campaign.

The Black Political Convention and UAW president Douglas Fraser's recent statements indicate readiness for some action of this kind. At its recent convention, the League for United Latin American Citizens heard a call from its president for a boycott of the governor's race in California because of Brown's support of Jarvis-Gann. Eduardo Morgan was thrown out as head of LULAC because

such a boycott fails to deal with one of the few modes of mass political expression in this society. However, his boycott call indicated a much broader disaffection with Brown among Hispanics, a rapidly growing section of the population long assumed to be in Brown's pocket.

Although many leaders are in various politicians' pockets, rank and file members of these constituencies are not. The restlessness of the leaders is a symptom of their "adjustment" to a more important process in the base.

A left presidential campaign is a fine place to raise the questions we need to debate and answer in a public arena: What is a socialist transitional program for the U.S.? How do we create an ongoing socialist political and organizational "center" not confined to single campaigns or issues? How do we deal with the Democratic Party?, etc.

Pacifica Radio, IN THESE TIMES, and other left media should be pleased to open their pages and their airwaves to those debates.

Alan Snitow is news director of Pacifica Radio, Berkeley, Calif.

PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □



Sanctify the family since new forms proved useless

By Michael Lerner

The growing right-wing-led assault on gay rights and on the women's movement cannot be fought merely by outraged cries of "fascism" and pleas to defend "civil liberties." We need to ask ourselves, "What is the program of the right speaks to needs that are legitimate and reasonable?" and then offer our own programs that are even more to the point. We must look beneath the irrational shell (even when that shell smells of national chauvinism, racism or sexism) to understand the deeper human needs that are going unmet and that have been displaced into irrational avenues, so that we can address those needs in progressive and humane ways.

The current attacks are primarily based on the growing emotional insecurity that faces most adult Americans. The breakdown of family life is an area in which the oppression of women has been institutionalized, but the breakdown of fam-

ily life in the U.S. has not led to a significant decrease in oppression. On the contrary, a new marketplace in people and "relationships" has emerged with new forms of oppression, every bit as painful as the old.

The omnipresent possibility of families being torn apart has generated a new level of insecurity throughout all levels of the society. Not only must consumers worry about keeping up with the latest cosmetic and clothing styles, but also with new forms of emotional self-improvement and "growth" lest they be deemed a less marketable quantity for relationship fulfillment. Whether as a single or as part of a "relationship" (married or not), most people under 45 (and many over) are continually feeling and resenting the instability that characterizes social life today.

As a psychotherapist, working primarily with working class and poor people, I see this pain in its concrete manifestations. The loneliness, fear, isolation, and despair that characterizes social relation-

ships today, and the pervasive distrust that pervades so many relationships (and that is encouraged by psychotherapies that teach people always to put themselves first) are the psychic legacies that the new right plays upon. No longer simply an apologist for capitalism's excesses, the right has begun to champion the psychically oppressed.

But how can the right plausibly use this issue to attack the left? The women's movement, gays, and the left did not cause the breakdown of the family. And if there is one piece of wisdom shared now by most of those who passed through these movements, as well as by those who opposed them, it is this: The attack on the family was misguided and personally destructive. The testimony to this conclusion is most passionately given by those who participated in the campaign: by those who tried to build alternative lifestyles. By and large the communal experiments have failed, the attempts to build "new forms" were found to be useless, and the people who went through them now talk about having "grown up."

But the popular impression, shared by millions of young people who were on the periphery without really understanding the internal sophistications of the movements against the family.

Given this popular impression, it is relatively easy for the opportunists of the right to manipulate mass sentiment against the left, and to use the attack on gays as their springboard to plausibility as the champions of the emotional needs of the people. And it is relatively useless to protest that it's really capitalism's fault, not ours, that family life has broken down, when at the same time we seem to be cheering that breakdown.

Similarly, it is useless to point out that in a future society there will be different sets of social arrangements to substitute for the family as the provider of long-term emotional security. This is a good point to make in discussing the kinds of changes we want to see in the future, but it is not a program that speaks to people's needs today. We all need transitional forms, forms within which we can live and build our emotional lives in the present.

Socialist-feminists and other progressives should campaign in defense of the family and in the face of the assault upon the family by the market rationality of capitalist society. It is time for us to declare loudly and proudly that socialists and feminists can make the best defense of the family. Community-controlled day care, for example, can remove one of the greatest threats to the family: the difficulty of raising children outside the context of the extended family relationships of the past. Precisely by allowing for the reproductive rights of women can we eliminate the potential of families being broken up by unwanted children and the tensions they cause. And by redefining the roles of women in the family we can guarantee equality of power and prevent the development of the psychological strains that most often lead to the dissolution of relationships.

In short, what is being suggested is a full-scale defense of the family and the sanctity of sexual-emotional relationships, but the family as now redefined to require full economic, emotional and social power of women.

I use the word "sanctity" with intent. Human relationships are the most precious and meaningful events in life, and they cannot be taken for granted. As against the logic of the marketplace of relationships, we must stand for the sanctity and specialness of relationships. If sanctification has in the past been associated with a patriarchal tradition, it is time for us to create a new set of traditions in which we publicly sanctify non-hierarchical and non-patriarchal relation-

ships, and publicly commit ourselves to protecting, supporting and nourishing those relationships. This does not mean that we are against divorce, but that as a community we tilt towards the possibility of working relationships out before people opt to dissolve them. Of course, this working out should be in a context of granting full equality to both partners, but it may also mean that we work patiently through the old hangups and sexist conditioning. Our tilt towards relationships need not imply disrespect for those who have chosen to remain single. As for those who are single not of choice but because they cannot find a suitable partner, our tilt implies a community responsibility to assist people in meeting others, a responsibility that grows out of an awareness that loneliness is a structural reality for many Americans.

Support for the family requires a cultural milieu in which those who struggle to maintain long-term relationships, raise children, and build families are given real help. For example, we should focus on creating educational and entertainment events for children, so that parents have alternatives to Disneyland and TV. We need to create public space where people seeking to meet each other can do so, without having to be apologetic or feel embarrassed that they are single and don't want to be. And we need to create an ethic of responsibility so that those without children are expected to give active support towards the financial and social well-being of those who are raising children.

The idea of support for the family does not mean support for the patriarchal family nor does it mean making compromises with the struggle against sexism. What it does mean is that we publicly acknowledge the wrong-headedness of the direction we were previously espousing, and now develop an approach to the family that actually speaks to the real daily lives of the people who can be our allies if we don't automatically write them off as our enemies.

To start with, let's talk honestly. Those of us who have tried to abolish the family have failed. Most of us have now created some form of family with positive aspects that we value. Instead of each of us sliding into these relationships a little ashamed that somehow we are selling out, we need to create a new attitude of celebration for the value of building long-term relationships.

I do not underestimate how difficult this will be for many of us. Many of us grew up with firsthand examples of families that were oppressive and stultifying. Some of us have not forgiven our parents or parents of friends for staying in these families, and the very word "family" conjures unhappy sets of childhood experiences.

But it is time for us to let go of these experiences. We may have needed to go through the period of rejection of the family to set up a climate that would make it possible for a different kind of family life to emerge. Without idealizing what is possible today, without minimizing the vigilance and struggle that will still be necessary to keep from falling back into older and more oppressive patterns, we need to give up our fear that we will be "coopted" or deflected if we now identify with a mainstream sentiment in the U.S.

It is time to create a national organization or coalition called "Socialists and Feminists in Defense of the Family." By focusing public attention on our new attitude towards building lasting relationships, having and raising children, we might shake up many of the dominant myths in American politics that help isolate progressive forces. Such a movement would be in a far more powerful position to support gay rights, as it must, because it would be able to speak as a force that is committed to the very emotional stability and security that most Americans reasonably want. It would be able to say that people are mistaken to think that gays are a cause of family insecurity or of relationships being less stable today than they seemed to be in the past. Such an approach would help separate off from the right a segment of its support, leaving its irrational and anti-human dimensions more clearly exposed. ■

Michael Lerner is a psychologist and director of the Institute for Labor and Mental Health, an organization that serves working people in the San Francisco area.

Ray has his day in "court"

Continued from page 3.

a hoax, and indicated that Lane's slovenly research was to blame.

The committee also called the two owner/operators of the Memphis gas station. Neither could recall seeing Ray or his white Mustang on that day.

Jackson is skeptical.

Even after the House Assassinations Committee completed its week-long prosecution of Ray by picking apart his alibi, there were several committee members: Walter Fauntroy (D-DC), Floyd Fithian (D-IN), Harold Sawyer (R-MI), who still suspect that Ray did not act alone.

Ray's contention that he is a totally innocent patsy will gain credibility only if Ray and his attorney can come forward at the November hearings with a better alibi and an explanation for "Raoul." But as Lane indicated to a Boston radio interviewer at week's end, it is possible that Ray will not testify in November.

Without Ray and Lane in the hearing room, the proceeding will slip back into

its tightly scripted and staged format. There will be no more surprises or interruptions. There will be little or no input or criticism from responsible researchers and experts when the committee deals with the important conspiracy questions. This is due to the efforts of chief counsel G. Robert Blakey, whose orchestration and detailed scripting of the upcoming proceedings prompted one Capitol Hill reporter to characterize him as "the Tchaikovsky of congressional hearings."

Rev. Jesse Jackson was one of the few non-press people attending the hearings daily. A week before, Jackson had accompanied Lane and others on a visit to Ray in a Tennessee state prison. In Tennessee, Jackson had expressed his belief that Ray was very likely an innocent patsy.

After the hearings, Jackson's view had shifted markedly. He complimented the committee's work, and commented, "The disruptive tactics came from Ray's corner."

Jackson commented on the accused assassin, "We now know less from Ray, but we know more about Ray. He still thinks he can outwit the entire committee. A street criminal never gives up."

Jackson continued, "Our charge is to remain vigilant. We must be willing to pursue conspiracy theories without succumbing to paranoia."

Jeff Cohen was a commentator on the PBS-TV broadcasts of the King assassination hearings. He lives in Los Angeles and works with the Assassination Information Bureau in Washington, D.C.

Airwaves

Continued from page 6.

take affirmative steps in recruiting, hiring, and promoting women and minorities."

H. Thaine Lyman, chair of Broadcast Communications of Columbia College in Chicago, testified that because public service programming may be reduced by the new act, he expected serious employment problems in the future.

"The elimination of public interest programming, elimination or curtailment of comprehensive news efforts, the rejection of affirmative action programs and the abolition of the Fairness Doctrine will have far-reaching effects on those employed within the broadcasting industry."

News and public affairs programming are the most labor-intensive segments of a commercial broadcasting operation. While news has become increasingly profitable, public affairs is not nearly as lucrative. Lyman told the hearing, "My personal estimate would be a reduction of the current broadcasting labor force by as much as 20 percent." He also stated that the first to go would be women and minorities, the most recently hired who no longer would be afforded the protections of a regulatory body.

Along with the corporate broadcasting giants, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA), the

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), and other communications labor interests appear to be adopting a cautious attitude toward initial interpretations of the legislation.

The replacement of the Fairness Doctrine by a proposed "equity" principle was the focus of strong criticism by William Kelley of the Illinois Gay Rights Task Force. Kelley stated, "If broadcasters are no longer required to air controversial issues of public importance, they will probably choose to avoid presenting unpopular viewpoints that might have unfavorable financial consequences." Kelley called for "a new kind of 'fairness doctrine'" that would address the portrayal of minority groups and sex-role stereotypes.

In a strongly worded one-page statement, Bob Gallie, executive director of the Citizens Committee on the Media charged, "Your proposed new Communications Act is upside-down and inside-out, because it viciously subordinates the rights of the public to alleged rights of self-serving monopolies. The public would be better served if you came up with a bill that demands more, not less, of broadcasters."

The hearing was one of half a dozen being held across the country by members of the House Subcommittee. They are the first serious attempt on the part of the lawmakers to incorporate the public into the process. Most observers agree that, as indicated by the Chicago reaction, the bill is in for a long and stormy journey through Congress.



Demonstrators raise NLF flags over statue of Civil War general John A. Logan during the Democratic Convention.

Chicago Democratic Convention

Continued from page 24.

Likewise it was the Democrats' intransigent refusal to acknowledge the growing antiwar sentiment and the doom of their imperial foreign policy that brought about Humphrey's defeat in the fall. The demonstration and police attack catalyzed their failure, but both were also symptoms of that inflexible, undemocratic Democratic policy.

The performance of the Democrats swelled the left and strengthened it in many ways, pushing people to both militant activism and a critique of liberalism. Broad cultural tendencies and expressly leftist politics fused for a time. Yet indirectly it also hurt the left. The police

attack at the convention contributed to the preoccupation of many on the left with "fighting the pigs." It may not be surprising, considering that episode and, even more, experience of black leaders, but it pushed the new left away from issues that could have galvanized majority backing and toward an adventurism that helped to isolate and ultimately to weaken it.

Likewise, millions of young people became so incensed with the Democratic Party's actions that they drifted into a stance of total opposition that ruled out winning power in any existing institutions. For example, many rejected not only the

Democrats, but also all electoral politics, even from the left. Also, the overwhelming antagonism to Pig Amerika—remember the vocabulary so many of us used?—often neglected the formulation of a real alternative, a goal of democratic socialism that could give people something to fight for as well as against.

With the ritual tenth anniversary acknowledgements of the great convention battle, the fight still goes on. City officials and their conservative supporters happily note that ex-Gov. Daniel Walker, whose report on the convention characterized it as a "police riot," now suggests that his phrase was given exaggerated im-

portance out of context. They cite Jerry Rubin's admission within the past year that he and others in the leadership were "guilty" of coming to provoke confrontation.

Not so fast, mister. Attorneys William Kunstler and Morton Stavis asked the federal district court of Chicago on Aug. 25 to vacate the remaining 13 contempt citations from the Conspiracy Seven (plus one) trial that followed the convention. They also asked that the federal prosecutors and FBI agents be held in contempt of court and that Judge Julius Hoffman, who presided over the trial, and Chief Judge William Campbell be referred to the Judicial Council of the Seventh Circuit for their misconduct because:

- U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran asked the FBI to collect information at least five months before the start of the trial "to show possible contempt of court...by the defendants and their lawyers."

- Foran and Judge Hoffman had "confidential and impermissible" discussions before the second week of the trial to plan possible contempt citations;

- Judge Campbell was acting as an FBI informer, channeling information about Hoffman's intentions to the head of the Chicago FBI office;

- Judge Campbell told the FBI agent in Chicago that "he will insure" that a subpoena of J. Edgar Hoover to produce records of surveillance of the defendants would be quashed;

- Police or FBI agents either infiltrated or bugged meetings of attorneys.

Public opinion may have been with the police after the convention, but the verdict of history is with the demonstrators. Buried somewhere beneath the cynicism and the apolitical scramble for personal satisfaction that seems to characterize much of the public temper in 1978, there is still a legacy of 1968: destruction of a cold war consensus that had thinly papered over the emerging deep faults of American post-World War II capitalism.

Yet despite that rude awakening, the American people were not presented with a viable alternative. Many now remain disillusioned, open to some populist appeals on the left but capable of swinging behind right-wing panaceas as well. Liberalism may have been discredited, but socialism is far from replacing it as a dominant ideology.

Yet whatever the mistakes we might now see in the politics of the 1968 convention standoff, there was at least an exuberance and conviction that would be welcome today. And whatever its shortcomings, the battle of Chicago was a splendid drama, a noble gesture that helped create a political watershed that will influence us for years to come.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPYING

Private spies keep tabs on radicals

By Seth Derish

SAN FRANCISCO

LOATED IN A TYPICAL MULTI-story office building in the typical San Francisco Bay Area community of Emeryville, is a not-so-typical private eye firm. Research West, Inc., which specializes in protecting corporate assets and directors through an intricate network of information sources, possesses some of the most extensive private files in the nation on so-called subversives. It's so extensive that even Randolph Apperson Hearst, publisher of the daily *San Francisco Examiner*, says, "I'm sure they know more about radicals than most of the police do."

Beefed up in recent years through a series of lucrative corporate contracts, most notably from the west coast's giant utility—Pacific Gas and Electric Company—Research West president Patricia Atthowe is feeling congressional heat these days for refusing to comply with a subpoena for her records on anti-nuclear power activists. (See *ITT*, March 3, "Congress Examines Utility Spying").

Atthowe's refusal of a subpoena from Sacramento Rep. John Moss' Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations is igniting a heated battle between the corporate world—that claims to feel a heightened threat from "terrorist" activities—and anti-nuclear power activists—who feel that their rights may have been violated.

Private-eye spies.

With the CIA and FBI's dirty linen being publicly exposed these days, firms such as Research West, mainly staffed by former government investigators, have sprung up around the country in the past 15 years. And with absolutely no federal, and little or no state and local control, these agencies have warranted a raised eyebrow from congressional leaders.

The Moss subcommittee, which began a national probe of intelligence gathering by the nuclear industry last September, ordered a contempt citation against Atthowe in late June. If passed by the parent House Commerce Committee and the entire House, Atthowe could spend up to one year in prison and face a \$1,000 fine. Many in the corporate world are banking on Moss' retirement at the end of this session to diffuse such drastic action.

But when queried by *ITT* about the thing fizzling out, subcommittee staff member Lowell Dodge said, "A clear effort is going to be made to get the thing resolved before this Congress is out."

Atthowe is claiming First Amendment rights for her refusal, saying she is an author and that her agency has supplied information to such publications as *Reader's Digest* and the *San Francisco Examiner*.

But Atthowe maintains that if she complied with the subpoena she would eliminate a "professional information source necessary for the stability of the corporate world."

Atthowe, who conveniently lumps peaceful activists together with so-called "terrorist" groups like the New World Liberation Front in her defense of corporate assets, is having no trouble finding support in the business community. A leading financial newspaper, *Barron's*, came to RW's defense in an editorial last April. Complaining that the "forces of law and order everywhere have found themselves handcuffed by left-wing lawyers, banded together in Communist fronts," the newspaper lauded RW as "one of the few private organizations with the expertise to help companies protect lives and property."

Veteran San Francisco private investigator Hal Lipset has a different opinion about Research West. He says, "They're just a red-baiting and blacklisting outfit. That's what they always have been and that's what they are now."

The roots of Research West, Inc.

Research West is not new at the red-baiting game. Atthowe and her husband, a former investigator for the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, purchased the firm in 1968 from Harper Knowles, an anti-communist private eye who surfaced in the 1930s as a key witness against longshore labor leader Harry Bridges. Knowles formed the organization, then known as the non-profit Western Research Foundation, in 1948 with the former station chief of the San Francisco FBI, Nat Pleper. The firm was believed to be a front for the Associated Farmers of California, who needed help in busting union organizing in the central valley. Knowles claimed it was established to collect and retain information on "subversives" that would be available to police agencies and a number of corporate "contributors."

For the next 30 years Western Research acquired, through a variety of ways and means, voluminous files on labor organizers, radicals, unions—just about anything that its corporate-police clientele wished. One of Knowles' former agents, Jerome Ducote, tarnished the firm when he admitted publicly in the 1960s that he had broken into people's homes and businesses to provide information for Western Research's files and clients.

When Atthowes acquired the firm in 1968, they formed Research West, Inc., a profit-making corporation that would now charge its corporate clientele instead of receiving "contributions" as the old

Western Research did in the past.

Sources have indicated that Knowles was "paid" for his firm by being a consultant for Research West for two years after the Atthowes acquired it. The California Department of Justice, when contacted by *ITT*, noted that Western Research Foundation last filed by-laws in 1958 but have never filed financial statements. This raises serious legal questions about the acquisition of assets by Research West, since normally when non-profit "charitable" organizations dissolve, their assets are either given to other non-profit groups or the state—not to profit-making corporations.

But the question of how RW obtained its assets does not concern Atthowe—in fact, a current Research West campaign, *ITT* has learned, is against non-profit organizations concerned with multi-national investments and ripoffs.

The counter-corporate culture.

Research West first ran into trouble when the firm was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in a libel suit filed by Synanon Foundation, the nation's largest drug rehabilitation program, against the *San Francisco Examiner*. It was learned that the *Examiner* printed a series of articles about Synanon (one entitled: "Synanon: Racket of the Century") based on information arranged through a Research West investigator, Robert Lamborn. The suit was settled out of court in 1976 for \$600,000.

PATRICIA M. ATTHOWE
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
June 1, 1978

RESEARCH WEST, INC.

SUITE 300
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TELEPHONE (415) 428-2770

In recent years, one California power utility has suffered 101 terrorist attacks, most of them bombings. And in 1977 alone there were forty bombing attacks by terrorists in California.

In the same year, more than a dozen countries had unscheduled changes in governments, almost all affecting the climate for international business. And in the U.S. anti-business pressure groups have succeeded in pushing legislators to make life increasingly difficult for corporations.

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Who are the anti-business pressure groups?

What is their modus operandi?

How do they influence legislators, the money market, and consumer reaction?

Who funds the adversaries? You? The government? Or is the issue the tax-exempt advantage bestowed by the IRS?

Barron's editor, Robert M. Bleiberg, said on April 10 this year:

"Research West, Inc. is one of the few private organizations with the expertise to help companies protect lives and property."

Research West is preparing a monthly newsletter to deal with the problems of corporate security, from the physical to the political ends of the spectrum.

BUSINESS CONFLICTS REPORT will appear monthly commencing July, 1978. I cordially invite your participation as a charter member.

Yours very truly,

Patricia M. Atthowe
Patricia M. Atthowe

pna/h

The connections between Research West and the Hearst empire go further than this, however. Atthowe admitted to the Moss subcommittee that she had been on an annual retainer with the *Examiner* from 1969 until last year, serving as a news source. And Randolph Hearst, publisher of the *Examiner*, admitted in a deposition during the Synanon libel case that he believed Western Research had "been on retainer [with the *Examiner*] for something like 20 years."

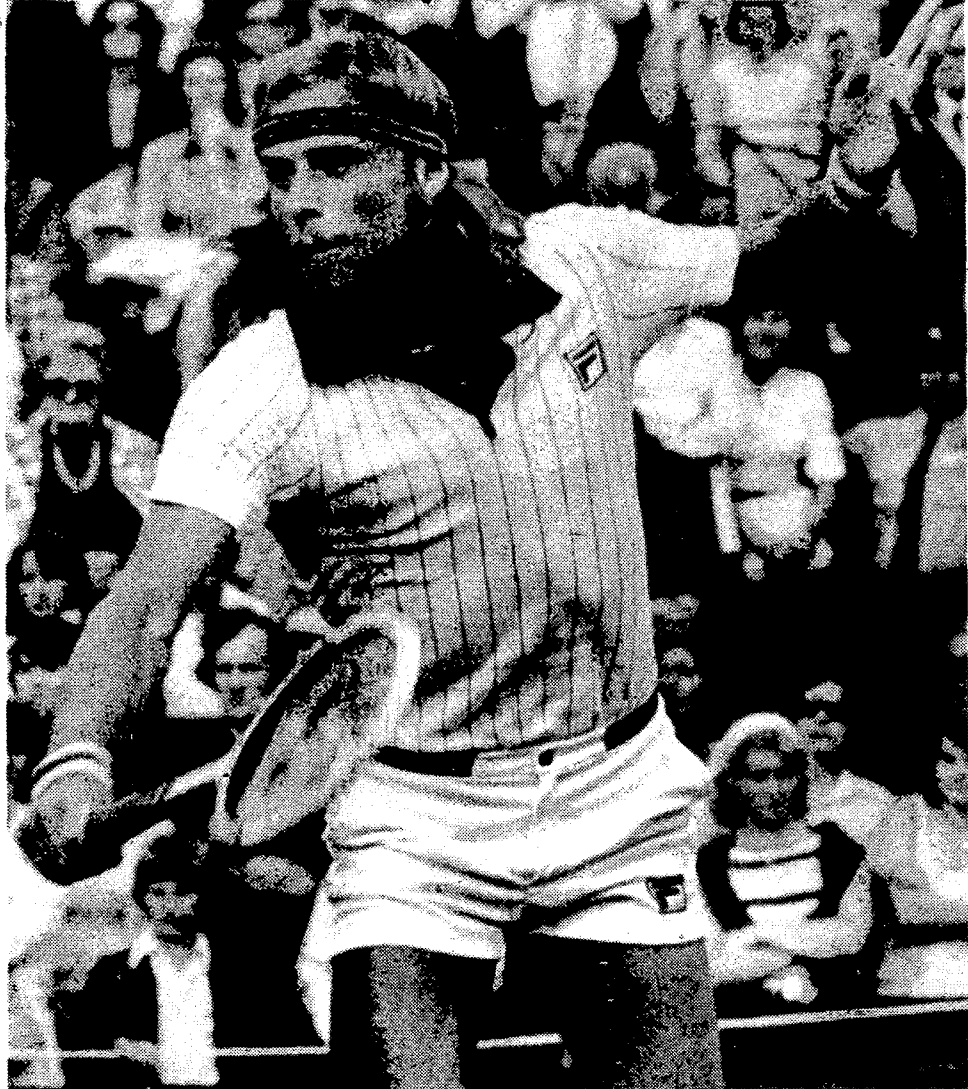
ITT has learned that Research West's latest gimmick is a monthly newsletter entitled *Business Conflicts Report*. A colorfully designed brochure has been mailed to executives throughout the nation promising a magazine that will analyze the "anti-business forces" and offers ideas to "ensure a stable political and economic environment in this country."

"The counter-corporate culture has become a major force in the U.S. and around the world," RW claims, and "Research West has tracked its component groups, its leaders, its sources of funding (is your company inadvertently donating funds to 'non-profit' organizations dedicated to the destruction of private enterprise?)."

So be on the lookout for Research West's lime-green Porsche, or their silver Jaguar skulking outside the doors of your non-profit "counter-corporate" agency—the new corporate spies don't limit themselves to cheap sedans.

Seth Derish is a free-lance writer living in San Francisco.

Wit' a Brooklyn Accent



Bjorn Borg is the odds-on favorite to win the U.S. Open.

By Mark Naison

BJORN BORG'S VICTORIES in the Italian, French and Wimbledon championships were a remarkable athletic achievement. In the finals of Wimble-

don and the French Open, Borg crushed Jimmy Connors and Guillermo Vilas—considered by some to be the world's best fast court and clay court players, respectively, without losing more than three games in a set. That's rather like outplaying Bill Walton at center one day, then overwhelming David Thompson at

guard the next.

Borg's performance in the French Open was particularly impressive. In the final three rounds, Borg beat Raoul Ramirez, Corrado Barrazuti and Guillermo Vilas without dropping a set. His victory over Barrazuti, one of the game's best clay court players, came by the astonishing score of 6-0, 6-1, 6-0.

In the Italian Open, Borg showed the extraordinary self-control that is one of his greatest assets. In his final-round match against Adriano Panatta, the "hometown favorite," Borg was subjected to a barrage of insults, catcalls and thrown objects that would have caused most players to walk off the court in protest (as Jose Higuera did in the semi-final), but Borg maintained his concentration and defeated Panatta in five difficult sets.

On the strength of these performances, I think Borg is well on his way to becoming the best player in the history of the game. He has excellent speed, strength and endurance, great will power, and a fine match temperament. Virtually invincible on clay, he has improved his serve and volley to the point where he is the odds-on favorite on hard surfaces as well.

Nevertheless, I think Borg might have difficulty winning the Grand Slam this year. Both the U.S. and Australian championships are being played on fast surfaces (cement and grass respectively) and Borg has demonstrated that he is vulnerable on such surfaces, especially in the early rounds. In his first match at Wimbledon he very nearly lost to Victor Amaya, a 6'6" American with a blazing serve, and he has been beaten by Roscoe Tanner indoors on several occasions. In any given match, I would always pick Borg, but I think he will have a hard time avoiding an upset against the host of big servers who will be gunning for him in the U.S. and Australian Opens.

Since my last article appeared on the exploitation of scholarship athletes, I have picked up some additional information that documents the extent of the problem.

At the University of Maryland, Lefty Driesell took over as basketball coach with the intention of making that school

"the UCLA of the East." Jim Ford tells us that only nine out of 20 players Driesell has recruited have earned their degrees.

At Arizona State University, according to a prominent college track coach who wishes to remain anonymous, only two of the nearly 100 track athletes he knows who attended the school received their degrees. One of these, Olympic medalist Herman Frazier, had to return to school after the Olympics and pay for the additional courses that he needed for his degree, because his "scholarship" only covered the four years of his athletic eligibility.

These statistics have come from newspaper reports and "the grapevine," but one of our readers, Beth Shapiro, was kind enough to send me a copy of her masters essay on the black athlete at Michigan State University. She documents the problem for a somewhat earlier period (1960-1968) and demonstrates that black athletes suffer disproportionately from the scholarship system.

Based on a sample of 113 white athletes and 43 black athletes in four major sports—basketball, football, track and wrestling—Shapiro discovered that 82.3 percent of the white athletes graduated from college, as compared to 46.5 percent of the black athletes. Even more revealing are the percentages of athletes that graduated with their class (in 12 terms or less). Only 11.5 percent of the white athletes, and 4.6 percent of the black athletes, graduated on time! It is clear from these statistics, derived from a school with a racially "liberal" reputation, that it is extremely difficult for an athlete in a nationally competitive sports program to function as a full-time student.

The exposure of such abuses will be a continuing priority of *IN THESE TIMES'* sports page. FANS, the Ralph Nader-sponsored sports consumers group, has joined us in a campaign for federal legislation governing college sports. However, we still need more documentation before we can draft legislation and force a congressional investigation. If you have information on scholarship abuses, recruiting violations, or graduation rates of athletes, please send it to me. Your anonymity will be guaranteed.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILMS

Stuntman's stuntman's stuntman

HOOPER

Directed by Hal Needham
Starring Burt Reynolds, Sally Fields
Warner Brothers

Films about how Hollywood works have never been great boxoffice, but *Hooper* may reverse this trend.

It's about Hollywood stuntmen, specifically Hooper (Burt Reynolds). Hooper has been top dog in his profession for 20 years. Now he's being challenged by a new, young rival. It's not that the kid (Jan Michael Vincent) is better, but Hooper is older and so busted up and full of scar tissue that he has to continually charge up with pain killers and booze in order to fight off the physical pain and mental anguish of his profession. He knows he has to quit. His girl tells him, his best friends know it, his doctors give him the facts about the possibility of permanent paralysis. But his macho drive won't let him quit.

He has to pull off an ultimate stunt, and he ends up trying to do so with the younger rival whom he befriends and whom he prepares to take his place. The rivalry becomes one of concern, since all the stuntmen realize that while they compete for glory, they also have to stick together in order to survive the mental rigors of the job.



Burt Reynolds plays Hooper, a stuntman who won't quit, even in the face of a stunt that requires traversing a canyon in a rocket car.

This is Hal Needham's second film (*Smokey and the Bandit* was his first). Needham was a former stuntman, and this story is his meat. He shows us how stuntmen make their living. He pays homage to the workers who never get the credit they deserve for giving the movies the thrills that attract millions of paying customers. His insights are enforced by his directorial style.

Needham is a no nonsense professional, sure of what he wants and skilled in telling a story and in creating characters of depth. He is becoming one of the best directors of the American commercial cinema.

Hooper is supposed to be a film about stunt men making movies. What we forget while watching it is that there are still anonymous men doing the stuff that Burt Reynolds and Jan Michael Vincent can't pull off.

Hooper's last job is for a James Bond type film, full of gory crashes, flaming bodies and men falling

hundreds of feet through the sky with no parachutes. That's still not enough for the director who wants to blow up a town and have the two men risk their lives so the ending will be "right."

Hooper and the kid are willing to take the chance, but so are the men who really perform the stunts for the movie we watch. The real action takes place with houses and bridges blowing up and men barely escaping with their skin intact. We're so busy with the thrills we don't realize we are being had.

Even so, the audience is challenged to think about the films they see, reflect on the thrills they enjoy and realize that many of those celluloid fantasies were produced by physical risk and suffering. Needham says the stuntmen are willing to pay the price. He just wants people to recognize the work and craft it takes to create such violent dreamlike moments.

—Joe Heumann
Joe Heumann reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



Ryan O'Neal is the driver.

Ryan O'Neal drives off into wild, blue abyss

THE DRIVER

Written and directed by Walter Hill
With Ryan O'Neal, Bruce Dern and Isabelle Adjani
Released by 20th Century Fox/EMI, Rated PG

The Driver is a film of faces. Faces like those of Ryan O'Neal—handsome, golden and empty. Their faces are perfect, utterly opaque. They reveal everything and nothing about the way life is in the underworld. They reflect no excitement, no anticipation, nothing about the adventure of crime. They show only its frigidity, its solitude, and its demands for preparedness. As the driver and the player respectively, O'Neal and Adjani are ready for anything. They are humorless night scavengers. Predators and

prey. They are faces close to the abyss.

To have seen O'Neal and Adjani in other movies, say *Barry Lyndon*, or the *Story of Adele H.*, is to know that the pulse of their acting ability registers only faintly when at all. O'Neal barely masters the warmth of his sultan, and Adjani is little more than a mannequin. Still, the mannequin is extraordinarily rare, and the sultan is vivid. And in this movie, those things are all that matter. In fact, they are the point.

As the driver, O'Neal is a consummate criminal technician. He is as elusive as quicksilver, effortlessly avoiding crashes, cars and cops. He spends his downtime waiting for gigs. His cut of the action is substantial. He asks no questions. He lives on the lam, in transient hotels. He seems to

be in it for the ego thrill, for the dare, because that is all there is.

Adjani is also a risk-taker, but her gambits do not carry her so close to the edge. Unlike the driver, she ducks when guns fire at her. She leaves when the cops make an arrest. She understands that winning is a proposition based on deceit and 51 percent. Her face is a mask. She tells less than she knows.

Bruce Dern, the detective, is as obsessed with the law as the criminals are with anomic, so much so that he will violate the criminal code to make a bust. He thinks cops and robbers is all bait and chase and interrogation. He loves a tough puzzle and a sleazy innuendo. He "leans hard" as a cheap hood says in the film.

It is hard to say which of the three characters is the most perverse. The player doesn't want the deal ever to go down, the driver pines when his wheels stop spinning; and the cop, like a shark, feeds well only when the waters are turbulent. No one has any entanglements, any friendships. No one has any human concerns.

The film is both a celebration and an indictment of the anarchic life of the outlaws in which everything is technique. There are no motives, only methods. Life is a series of showdowns, and intermittent doldrums. There are no explanations.

Just faces. Impassively cold faces. Staring at each new predicament as if it were written in an indecipherable hand on subterranean walls. —Donald Venes

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FILM

Warren Beatty resurrects a populist hero

HEAVEN CAN WAIT

Screenplay by Elaine May and Warren Beatty
Directed by Warren Beatty and Buck Henry
With Warren Beatty, Julie Christie, Dyan Cannon, James Mason, Charles Grodin, Buck Henry, Vincent Gardenia and Jack Warden
Paramount, Rated PG

Warren Beatty's *Heaven Can Wait* is a remake of *Here Comes Mr. Jordan*, Mark Sandrich's 1941 comedy about a prizefighter accidentally sent to heaven before his time and forced to find a new body to occupy. In 1941, with much of the world at war, a movie that portrayed death with such benign non-finality was reassuring. It made sense. *Heaven Can Wait* hovers somewhere between sense and nonsense. Its most effective elements are decidedly earthbound.

Joe Pendleton (Warren Beatty) is quarterback for the Los Angeles Rams, and dreams of leading them to victory in the Super Bowl. Pendleton is no Joe Namath. He is virtuous and naive; when he plays around it's with a football, and when he drinks it's likely to be a blended mixture of liver, bean-sprouts and whey.

Heaven Can Wait is likely to engender the same kind of popularity accorded to *Star Wars* and *Rocky*, and for similar reasons. It paints a simple moral world in blacks and whites. The "good guys," even if not dressed in white, are overwhelmingly decent, virtuous and All-American. The "bad guys" are hopelessly greedy, overly sophisticated and morally bankrupt.

Warren Beatty's Joe Pendleton is like a Frank Capra hero; he evokes memories of Gary Cooper's Mr. Deeds and James Stewart's Mr. Smith. We trust his

moral instincts, as if "goodness" were a genetic trait.

Riding a bicycle to the stadium, he has a head-on collision with a van (we're spared; we only hear it). Suddenly, he's at a "way station" to heaven with his Escort (Buck Henry). The Escort, a petty bureaucrat, pushes Pendleton to board the supersonic transport that will fly him to his "final destination." Pendleton demurs, and the supervisor, Mr. Jordan (James Mason), is called. A mistake has been made; Pendleton has been "escorted" before his time. He must be returned to his body immediately.

But Pendleton's body has been cremated. A substitute is found: the body of Leo Farnsworth, corporate magnate, about to die of poisoning complements of his wife Julia (Dyan Cannon), and her lover, Farnsworth's prim male secretary Tony Abbott (Charles Grodin). Farnsworth becomes Pendleton in spirit. He jogs through the mansion, plays football with the servants, reads corporate reports over the sports news on TV.

He asks his private secretary if his company's policies are "good"—if it is doing the "right things." Farnsworth's corporate executives seem nonplussed by Farnsworth/Pendleton's declaration that their actions should be judged by a moral quality other than the profit margin.

Pendleton's ambivalence about using Farnsworth's non-athletic body dissipates when he meets Betty Logan (Julie Christie), the tough young Englishwoman (with a heart of gold) who has travelled 8,000 miles to defend her small English village from the encroachment of Farnsworth's oil company. It's true love (at first sight, of course): longing gazes, embarrassed stares, unabashedly dumb grins.



Warren Beatty and Julie Christie star in *HEAVEN CAN WAIT*.

Heaven Can Wait will engender the same kind of popularity as *Rocky* and *Star Wars*.

Joe also gets to play major corporate executive. He invites cantankerous, hostile presspersons to observe a corporate board meeting; Betty's village is saved from a power plant; the avaricious corporate board members are given a "pep talk" on the virtue and profitability of "socially responsible" and "environmentally sound" corporate management. He even buys the Los Angeles Rams.

Just when Farnsworth/Pendleton seems destined to live happily ever after, Fate (in the guise of Mr. Jordan) intervenes. Joe Pendleton must leave Leo Farnsworth's body. Why? Joe protests. Joe, Mr. Jordan replies in his most serene, omniscient, diplomatic manner, there is a Plan. Will Joe ever get to the Super Bowl? Can he possibly win Betty Logan now? Will he ever live happily ever after? Can the aud-

ience have any doubt about these matters?

We don't doubt that Joe will do the "right" thing; for the company, for Betty Logan, for himself. Joe, like his predecessors Mr. Smith and Mr. Deeds, is a populist. *Heaven Can Wait* gives us only a faint echo of Capra's Depression-era trumpeting of the simple, common man, but it still strikes a responsive chord. Joe's "Win this one for the Gipper" style pep talk to his corporate board, arguing for environmental controls, less greed, and more care for the humans affected by corporate decisions, won a lusty round of applause when I saw the film.

There is even a hint of a *Rocky* style Horatio Alger element here: Joe wants to quarterback the Rams to a Super Bowl victory. Betty Logan tells Joe: You can do anything, if only you're sure of yourself and work hard enough. He is. He does. And the Rams win the Super Bowl. There were more cheers from the audience when Joe runs out on the field to take over as Rams quarterback.

Heaven in this film consists of a large well-lit studio carpeted with a layer of dry-ice "mist" against a solid off-white background. Beatty (who co-directed) keeps away from front stage, cen-

ter in these scenes, as if he were embarrassed to be in the frame. James Mason, with his usual aplomb, manages to keep a straight face. Only a smug Buck Henry seems comfortable in this smoky scenario; but his Escort is unamusing and irritating.

With the exception of these scenes, *Heaven Can Wait* is consistently well-paced and entertaining. Dyan Cannon has got her bitchy blonde routine down to perfection. She plays Julia Farnsworth with abandon and gusto; her character is a truly borderline hysteric. Her comic energy steals the show. Charles Grodin's Tony Abbott is good ballast for Julia. Where she's hysterical, he's composed; where she's impulsive, he's calculating; when she's seductive, he's prissy. His sneering grin drips with evil. They're the best comic villains since Boris and Natasha of the old *Rocky* and *Bullwinkle* show.

This is Warren Beatty's movie. He produced it, starred in it, co-directed it, and co-authored the screenplay (with Elaine May). So he deserves credit for a real Saturday afternoon popcorn movie: lightweight, mindless, fun. If it is not up to Beatty's last effort, *Shampoo*, at least it's not *Jaws 2*. That's an achievement of sorts.

—Barry Mike

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PHOTOGRAPHY

Show combines art and politics

"Photographic Crossroads"—the retrospective show of the Photo League—is a welcome contrast to much modern photography. A collection of some 200 photographs by amateur and professionals who believed in putting cameras "back into the hands of honest photographers who will use it to photograph America," the prints are a form of social history. They bring to life the nameless, faceless people who lived in

monthly photo competitions and taught inexpensive classes in photo skills and techniques.

In 1946 the League's membership had risen to 178. Then it was blacklisted. People rose to its defense and initially membership continued to grow. In December of that year the League sponsored its first retrospective exhibit of over 300 photographs by some 96 members. But as support for the Cold War grew, the League



New York during the Depression, WWII and the early '50s.

Organized by the Visual Studies Workshop in Rochester (N.Y.) and curator Anne Tucker, the exhibit premiered at the National Gallery in Canada last April, then traveled to the International Center of Photography in New York in June and to the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston in July. It will be at the Minneapolis Institute of the Arts from October to the end of December. Plans for 1979, not yet fully defined, include showings in London, California and Chicago.

The Photo League grew out of the New York Film and Photo League, one of many such groups set up by the Workers International Relief, to cover the political situation in the 1930s as well as to publicize the WIR's activities. The League produced silent, black and white 35mm newsreels and short films on such themes as hunger and unemployment.

In 1934 the League split over disagreements on the relative priorities of art and politics. The minority, which was considered elitist by the rest, formed a group that was later called Frontier Films and set out "to make the documentary film dramatic."

For the next 15 years, the Photo League organized local exhibits, discussions and lectures by photographers like Ansel Adams, Lewis Hine and Margaret Bourke-White. It screened films, published a bi-monthly newsletter (*Photo News*), sponsored

faced greater and greater financial difficulties. It was finally disbanded in 1951.

The Photo League's work reflects its belief in the synthesis of art and politics: not "art as weapon," but art as a way to "illuminate and record the world they lived in." League members were vocal critics of other approaches to photography:

Photography has long suffered—on the one hand—from the stultifying influence of the pictorialists, who photographically have never entered the 20th century, and on the other from the so-called "modernists" who retired into a cult of red filters and confusing angles much beloved by the manufacturers of photographic materials.

Photographs by nearly every student, teacher and member of the League are represented in this show. Technically, the pictures themselves are superb. The negatives have produced good clean prints, with varying textures and compositions that make the most of natural lighting and shadows.

There are some shots of events: political demonstrations, workers on strike, and a Harlem parade. But mostly the pictures show poor, working and unemployed people. We see them in their homes, at work and at play: people peering from windows out into the street, folks sitting on tops and in bars, religious one-cone vendors, kids on roof tops, immigrants on Ellis Island.

There are effective contrasts

and juxtapositions of rich and poor sections in New York: an old woman walking by a glamorous billboard ad, shiny new cars next to street kids playing hop scotch, fur-clad champagne drinking opera-goers, bread lines, a sign proclaiming "America is Free Enterprise" above old men warming their hands over a garbage can fire in a dirt lot. That these pictures are over 30 years old seems to increase their magnetism.

Most interesting were shots from some of the Photo League's documentary production groups. The Feature Group, organized by Aaron Siskind worked for four years on various projects: Portrait of a Tenement (1936), Park Avenue: North and South (to 1937), the Bowery (1937-38), the Catholic Worker Movement: St. Joseph's Home (1939-40). The largest of these studies, Harlem Document, culminated in an unpublished book. These projects show people in the social context, helping give the viewer a real sense of their lives.

What makes these pictures distinctive and exemplary isn't just their subjects nor the good technical quality. Rather their impact is in documenting the humanity of the everyday lives of ordinary people. In these photos we see poverty, but there is also art on the clothes lines, fire escapes and window sills of Harlem, the lower East Side and the Bowery. We see both the inhumanity of the city and the ingenuity of inner city kids etching humanity on the

streets, sidewalks, walls, parking lots, and roof tops.

Photography as social document is a risky business. It can help redefine existence, events, beauty, worth. But it can also be elitist and paternalistic and run dangerously close to helping us get used to what we see.

Photographic documentation can also be intrusive in the lives of its subjects. Some deeply moving pictures are huge invasions of privacy. One can't help but wonder how the families and individuals felt about the camera-laden tourist. Were they asked if their picture could be taken? Did they have the opportunity to say no?

Even with these reservations, the photographs in this exhibit seem honest views of people who have been misrepresented or ignored by traditional photography. They aren't heavily pessimistic visions, like Robert Frank's studies of America in the 1950s, nor grotesque, like much of Diane Arbus' work. Neither are they patronizing or sentimental in their humanism.

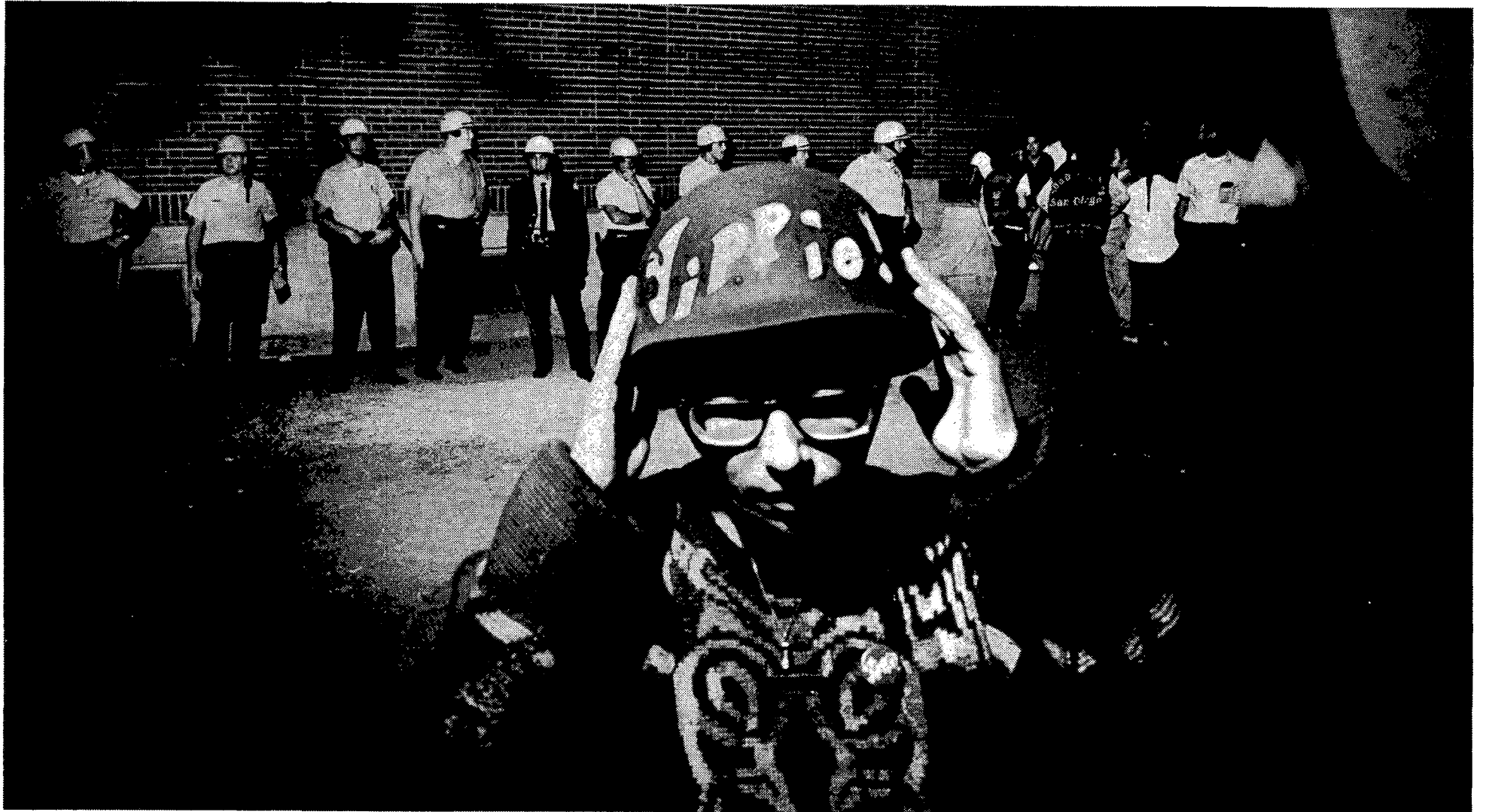
"Photographic Crossroad" is a fitting tribute both to the Photo League and to its subjects.

—Libby Brydolf

Libby Brydolf is a free-lance writer in Jamaica Plains, Mass. For information about booking the show at a local museum, contact Charles Stainback, Visual Studies Workshop, 4 Elton St., Rochester, NY 14607.

Chicago '68

Painting the town red



By David Moberg

Ten years ago I arrived in Chicago, one week before the Democratic convention would open. Fresh from the heady experience of near-revolution in Paris during the "events of May," I was anxious to return to my own natural turf and the issue that had become for me and many thousands a personal mission: stopping the war in Vietnam.

The intimations of police violence made me a little edgy. But I was heading to Chicago for graduate school anyway. Besides, I'd survived police, tear gas and pitched battles in Paris, hadn't I? Yet the warnings seemed more ominous when I discovered that instead of the predicted 50,000 to 500,000 demonstrators, there were only a few thousand dedicated, very diverse characters in the city parks.

The city had made it clear that it didn't want *any* demonstration. Mayor Richard Daley feared for his own reputation as convention host. He feared for the fate of his party, a party tied to a highly controversial war that had prematurely ended Lyndon Johnson's career. He also feared the possibility that violence could trigger a recurrence of the black uprisings of April 1968, after Martin Luther King was killed.

Although the city's refusal of permits and general delaying tactics made its intentions clear, more direct sabotage was also used, as a recently released memorandum from the city's Department of Investigation revealed. Freed by the long-standing citizen's suit against political surveillance in Chicago, the memo claimed that agents had widely infiltrated the organizing groups and "continually sabotaged their plans for chartering buses, raising money and giving life to the invasion of Chicago." Throughout the country undercover agents from varied police and intelligence agencies "worked up until August in an attempt to sabotage the movement with great success," the memo declared. "Some of them came to Chicago for the convention to continue in the same activity." How many acted as agents provocateurs?

But despite the disruptions and sabotage of organizations and the threat of

violence against demonstrators, the political tide that swept people to Chicago was too great to stop. It was based in the deep convulsions of the international political order that made 1968 a remarkable year—Tet uprising, black rebellions, May in Paris, the Prague resistance to Soviet invasion, college student building seizures and more.

My first taste of the week's violence came Sunday night before the convention opened, when hundreds of us gathered in Lincoln Park on the near north side. At 11 p.m. police drove us out, using clubs freely. Although a couple of hasty street barricades were erected, I was struck at first not by the seriousness of the confrontation but rather by how tame it was compared to May in Paris. Careful seminarians, lecturing about the virtue of private property, dismantled the barricades. We walked down the street, quietly dispersing. Suddenly a car with its headlights out sped after us. We began to run. My friend, Noel, not wanting to be shot in the back, faced the police with his hands out in front to show he meant no harm. Four cops immediately beat him to the ground with clubs and flashlights. Similar scenes would be repeated hundreds of times.

The climax came on Wednesday night with the "battle of Michigan Avenue," just outside the Haymarket restaurant at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. There the TV

**We began to run.
My friend, not
wanting to be
shot in the back,
faced the police.
Four cops beat
him with clubs
and flashlights.**

On Sunday night, before the Democratic convention began, police had removed their nameplates and badges in preparation for the upcoming confrontation.

cameras could send a record of the carnage throughout the country as police waded into the crowd, beating heads and shouting "kill, kill, kill."

There were many other events that seemed equally tense, dramatic and meaningful to me. However, the importance of Wednesday night, apart from coinciding with the nomination of Hubert Humphrey, showed how dependent we were on the news organizations, especially on TV, to show our victimization. It was a very strange way to acquire influence—getting beaten, showing it on the tube. The method distorted perceptions of political strategy for years to come. It proved increasingly unreliable as authorities tightened their reins on the news media.

The week was not all fear, tension and violence by any means. It was also filled with enthusiasm, sentimentality, histrionics, good theater and high humor: Dick Gregory, trying to lead us into the *cordon sanitaire* around the convention, by inviting us to a party at his south side house (only to be stopped by National Guardsmen with barbed wire barricades and tear gas)...Phil Ochs singing that the war was over so many times we almost believed it...gleeful Yippie tricks promising outrageous assaults on conventional sensibilities, the mildest of which was nominating a pig for President....raising the NLF flag on the statue of Civil War Gen. John A. Logan....an anti-birthday party for LBJ that ended with a spine-tingling show of burning draft cards and included such literary delights as William Burroughs' depiction of the police as "the hated mandrill."

Reporting at the time and reminiscences now, however, have been so dominated by the issue of police brutality (or demonstrator provocation) that the real point of the demonstration—opposition to the war in Vietnam—was lost to most people, I fear. Because the Democrats were so vulnerable on the issue, they could not tolerate dissent. That brought on the police violence.

Continued on page 18.

Photo by
Paul Sequeira